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A Short History

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

For Students and General Readers

BY

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SECOND EDITION

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ERI BAKER HULBERT, A.M., D.D., LL.D.

Dean of the Divinity School, Professor of Church History, Head of the Department, The University of Chicago

MY

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PREFACE

There are already many excellent general church histories. But it appears that there is room for still another which shall be short, considerably different in its conception, and more elementary. This book, however, does not challenge comparison with any of its predecessors. It rather seeks to lead its readers to those works of the masters and so to make them necessary. It hastens, moreover, to acknowledge its deep obligations to these works because it has made use of their treasures, and so often that it would be quite impossible to mention each particular instance. But it is hoped that at least a general recognition has been given to all those upon which heavy contribution has been laid. All this, perhaps, in covering so vast a field, would go without saying.

The reader will, no doubt, be impressed with the large number of quotations in the book, but as they are nearly all from the original or the best secondary sources it is believed that they greatly enhance its value.

The purpose of the work is twofold. First, to meet the needs of students entering upon the study of Church History, who are in danger of getting lost and discouraged in the labyrinth, and who consequently need a thread to guide them until they shall be able to get their bearings. Second, the large and growing class of intelligent people, Christian and non-Christian, who would like to know something of the historical development of the marvelous institution called the

church, but who have not time for the larger works which sometimes run through several volumes. It is hoped that this volume is sufficiently short, simple, and free from technicalities to meet this want.

For the benefit of students, carefully selected bibliographies have been prefixed to the different periods and sections. An especial effort has been made to make these bibliographies representative. The author has been extremely anxious to betray no bias. But if, here and there, he can be convicted of prejudice or unfairness he trusts that by means of the sources cited the truth may be found. Where books have been translated from foreign languages the English titles have always been given. It has also seemed best to add a few of the standard French and German works, because knowledge of these languages is increasing so rapidly that few classes of any size are likely to be found in which there are not some members who use these languages with considerable facility.

Continual references are made to translations from original sources, and in every possible way students should be encouraged to make the fullest use of these translations, because the time is not far off when no one who has not handled the original sources with more or less of independence can be said to have studied history. Books like this must be more and more looked upon simply as introductions, and their statements must all be tested by the facts.

This bibliography lays no claims to completeness, and many readers will no doubt be disappointed to find important omissions. But the student who follows out its suggestions will soon find himself in the way of complete information.

The second class of readers will pay no attention to the bibliographies, but begin with the definition of Church History on page 24. Yet it would not be surprising if they also should want to read much further than this book takes them. From numerous letters received from women's literary clubs, the author is led to believe that the book with its references will be found useful to these societies.

Another feature of the work is its view of the relations of church and secular history. So important has this appeared that all the way through the great movements of secular history have been kept steadily in view, and it is shown that neither side can be understood without considerable knowledge of the other. The minister who will command the respect of his community in the future will be a man of large and intelligent views on a great variety of subjects. He will, of course, be a specialist, but he will at the same time be a generalist.

This book has been written with the idea that every good thing in the world belongs to God and His people, and that it should be utilized; that every good man, whatever his position in life, has something useful for every other good man; that the distinction between sacred and secular, higher classes and lower classes, is becoming more and more obscure; and that what is now needed is the realization of the truly Christian idea of the solidarity of all the redeemed in the society called the Kingdom of God.

All through the preparation of the book, the maxim: *Dolus latet in generalibus* has never been absent from the author's mind. And notwithstanding the valuable helps all the way he cannot hope that he has avoided mistakes—possibly some serious ones He will

esteem it a great favor if scholars who honor the little volume by reading it will send him their criticisms and corrections.

If, in some small way, the book shall contribute to the new awakening that is evidently taking place in the great subject of Church History the author will be more than gratified.

April 8, 1902.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The fact that within seven months of publication a second edition of this work is called for seems to indicate that it meets a real need. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the press for its nearly unanimous expressions of generous recognition; and also to thank his critics for the perfectly frank manner in which they have pointed out the errors and shortcomings of the work. He has taken these criticisms into careful consideration, and, while he has not in every case been able to agree with his critics, he has profited much by their good offices. But he is under special obligations to his friend and colleague, Professor Franklin Johnson, of the Department of Church History, for many valuable suggestions, most of which are embodied in this edition.

February 2, 1903.

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INTRODUCTION

LITERATURE

When a real student enters upon a course of study his first question is: Where shall I find the most reliable sources of information? By information he means, first of all, the fundamental and essential facts, exactly as they were in the period under investigation; and second, the various interpretations of these facts as they have passed under the critical examination of the ages that may have gone by.

He thus finds in the nature of the case a basis for the classification of the sources into *original* and *secondary*.

It should, however, be remembered that a hard and fast line cannot always be drawn between original and secondary sources. Moreover, what in one point of view is a secondary source may in another be an original source.

No student can proceed very far without a diligent use of both the original and the secondary sources. He will not be strong enough to handle the original sources entirely alone, and if he limits himself to the secondary sources he will surely land himself at least two steps from the truth.

The student who does exhaustive work, and becomes an authority, and really makes a contribution to knowledge, cannot take a very wide field for his specialty. He can, however, range very widely over the secondary sources of many fields and thus secure a symmetrical development and save himself from the narrowness of too exclusive specialization—a danger very imminent in our times.

It is of the first importance that in the interpretation of a source, its entire environment be grasped and kept ever in view. Who were the men? what were their temperaments, their education, their position in society and their party affiliations? What were the great issues of their age, political, social, religious, philosophical? How were these issues related? Did any one issue overtop the rest?

These and many other such questions should be scrupulously answered. The urgency of such a procedure is seen, for example, the moment we take up any of the Church Fathers. In our own century it is seen in the relation of Strauss to Hegel; in the former's life of Jesus and the numerous lives of Christ that followed. We find examples all through church history.

Among the *original* sources of general church history may be mentioned: The Old and New Testament Scriptures; the writings of the Church Fathers—especially Origen, Athanasius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Augustine; Archaeology as found in the remains of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting; the decisions of Synods and Councils,—as the Nicene Creed,—and their recorded proceedings such as debates and other statements; papal bulls; the writings of reformers such as **Wiclif's** *Trialogus*, the Augsburg Confession, and **Calvin's** *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

All these are well-springs of the great and widening streams of thought that have run through the ages. They are embodiments of the contemporary spirit. The student who can understand them and at the same time understand the requirements of his own age, and who can separate the false from the old and the false from the new; and who can combine the true of the old and the true of the new into a symmetrical whole, will come very near to being the ideal historian.

The *secondary* sources of general church history are very extensive both in quantity and variety. It would be difficult to name a single branch of historical study that is not in some way of interest to the student of church history.

It may be well to mention here some of these branches, and to call attention to a few of the leading books which will always be in demand—reserving more special works to be cited in connection with the different chapters and sections.

A. General Histories

The monumental work of **Lavisse** and **Rambaud**—entitled *Histoire Générale*—is no doubt the most important of all general histories. It consists of nine volumes and extends from 395 to 1815.

The *Outlines of General History* by **Prof. G. P. Fisher,** is really what it professes to be—an outline of Universal History. It begins at the beginning and reviews the progress of the world down to date. Its most excellent maps add much to its value.

A still more condensed work is **Ploetz's** *Epitome of Universal History*—translated and enlarged by W. H. Tillinghast.

Freeman's *General Sketch* is the best very brief summary in existence.

A more extensive sketch is **G. B. Adams's** *European History* with select bibliographies, illustrations and maps. This is the latest valuable contribution to the subject.

Meyer's *General History*, in two volumes, is a very attractive presentation. It has also been abridged into a single volume for schools.

E. B. Andrews's *Institutes of General History* is a welcome guide through the labyrinth—and with its excellent bibliography forms a good introduction.

For a bird's-eye view of the Political History of Europe no book is so valuable as the little volume of **Lavisse**, translated by Professor Gross. The author's outlook is not altogether hopeful.

B. General Church Histories

Giessler's *Ecclesiastical History*, in five volumes, is a source book. It contains a thread of narrative with abundant citations from all the important original sources.

Kurtz's *Church History*, in three volumes, is closely packed and well arranged and indexed. Constant reference to it will always be rewarded.

The *Universal Church History* of **Alzog**, in three volumes, is a work of conspicuous merit. It is perhaps the best Roman Catholic church history. The author's point of view, less evident in the original, becomes more apparent in the translation.

Professor Fisher's *History of the Christian Church* like his Universal History, is a repertory of facts clearly and concisely stated.

The *History of the Christian Church*, in two volumes,

by **Bishop Hurst**, considers the subject in a large and liberal spirit.

The great work of the lamented **Dr. Schaff**, *The History of the Christian Church*, both in its treatment and its bibliography, is the most elaborate church history that has appeared in America. It covers the history of the church from the beginning to the end of the Swiss Reformation—omitting the period just previous to the outbreak of the Reformation.

To **Neander** belongs the distinguished honor of bringing church history under the control of ideas, confining it within a reasonable compass, and putting into it a new spirit of earnestness. Although in many respects out of date it still has much value.

Moeller's *History of the Christian Church*, in three volumes, brings the subject down through the Reformation. Despite the fact that in style it is often involved and even obscure it is probably the best church history that has yet appeared.

The *Outlines of Church History* by **Prof. Rudolf Sohm** is clear and full of suggestion. The student who has the details of general church history well in mind will find it invaluable. From the beginning of the Reformation it is concerned almost exclusively with German church history.

For the general church history of Germany to the twelfth century the student will always go to **Hauck's** monumental *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.*

Müller's *Kirchengeschichte* to the Reformation is a book that commands the highest respect. Its completion to the present time is awaited with deep interest.

Harnack: *What is Christianity?*

This latest work of the great historian has attracted universal attention. The student of general church

history will find it exceedingly instructive and suggestive.

Caird: *The Evolution of Religion* is a most interesting general and philosophical view of the development of religion.

There are many other books of real merit among which should be mentioned **Zenos's** *Compendium of Church History;* **Jennings's** *Manual of Church History;* **Crooks's** *Story of the Christian Church.*

But the latest contribution is **Newman's** *Manual of Church History.* The first volume bringing the subject down to the Reformation shows great breadth and accuracy of scholarship, and largeness of sympathy. These qualities place it among the leading church histories of our times.

In this connection all religious Cyclopedias will be of the greatest service to the student. Among these we should especially mention: *The Concise Dictionary of Religious Knowledge*, edited by **Samuel MacAuley Jackson.**

During the last century Patrology became a science and constant reference to standard works will be of great importance to the student. Among these are:

Moeller—*Patrologie, oder Christliche Literärgeschichte.*
Schmidt—*Manual of Patrology.*
Stearns—*Manual of Patrology.*

C. General Histories of Doctrine

The book that will command the attention of all persons who are interested in the doctrines of Christianity for many years to come is **Dr. Harnack's** *History of Dogma.* This great work has just been translated into English and published in seven volumes. So far as knowledge and intellectual reach and grasp are con-

cerned no other man was so well qualified for dealing with the subject of dogma.

Another book of like sympathies and purposes is **Kaftan's** *The Truth of the Christian Religion.* The first volume of this work will require the thoughtful and protracted attention of all who seek to know the origin of dogma and the development of theology.

Loofs's *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* is an independent study of marked ability and compares favorably with Harnack and Kaftan.

As something of an antidote to many of the positions taken in the three notable works just mentioned **Seeberg's** *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* will be found interesting—two volumes.

Both Seeberg and Loofs are especially valuable on account of the numerous passages from the original sources which they have embodied in their narratives.

Sheldon's *History of Christian Doctrine* is very largely drawn from original sources, and will be found extremely valuable. It covers the entire period from 90 to 1885—two volumes.

The Outlines of Christian Dogma by **Darwell Stone** is a very clear and interesting presentation from the conservative Anglican point of view.

Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, in three volumes, is the source book for the history of doctrines. The first volume is a general introduction to the whole subject. The second volume contains the Greek and Latin creeds with translations; the third volume contains the Evangelical Confessions with English translations.

The *History of Christian Doctrine* by **Prof. G. P. Fisher**, contains the ripe fruit of mature scholarship. It is a résumé of all historical theology expressed in the

author's lucid, concise style, and will be needed for constant reference.

In **Hagenbach's** *History of Doctrine* we have a scholarly treatment in two volumes with many quotations from original sources.

The *History of Christian Doctrine*, in two volumes by **Prof. W. G. T. Shedd**, is a very clear and interesting statement of the development of doctrines. Dr. Shedd was a rigid Calvinist.

Samuel G. Green's *The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, is a fresh and scholarly review of the progress of creeds—pointing out their elements of strength and weakness. It is liberal in the best sense of the word.

Highly to be commended is **Moule's** *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*. A perusal of this little volume will convince any one that doctrines are not necessarily dry, and that those who write on doctrines may do it in a deeply spiritual mood.

A conservative view of *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* is given by **Ottley.** The book is well written and covers the entire subject from the beginning to the present time.

From the philosophical and critical point of view few works can compare in clearness of conception and conciseness and adequacy of statement with Book I. of **Fairbairn's** *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*.

D. General Histories of Philosophy

The beginner will find **Weber's** *History of Philosophy* in every way adapted to his wants. The story is told simply and accurately. The bibliography is well nigh complete. When the student is ready for more advanced work he will go to **Windelband's** *History of*

Philosophy, whose aim is to show the evolution of ideas, paying little attention to what is purely individual in the master minds who kept the evolution evolving. Its deliberate purpose is to deal with "The History of Problems and Conceptions."

Of course the immortal works of **Ueberweg** and **Erdmann** will be in ever-recurring demand for reference.

It has been sufficiently emphasized that the student of church history can make no progress without a good general knowledge of the history of thought. But he must do more. He must know in its broad outline at least the present status of philosophy—its theories and the arguments for and against these theories. Fortunately we are not left without excellent helps at this juncture. **Paulsen's** *Introduction to Philosophy* is strong on the sides of metaphysics and epistemology, and is extremely valuable; but for an all-round, historical, critical, up-to-date statement **Külpe's** *Introduction to Philosophy*, comes little short of meeting the requirements.

Watson's *Comte, Mill and Spencer* is intended by its author to be an outline of philosophy. It is very keen and will bear repeated reading. *Christianity and Idealism*, by the same author, should be read in further explanation of his views—Dr. Watson is properly classified as a Semi-Hegelian.

E. General Histories of Ethics

Yodl's *Geschichte der Ethik in der neueren Philosophie*, as the title indicates, is concerned chiefly with modern Ethics. But it has an excellent introduction treating of ancient and early Christian Ethics and so deserves to have a place among the works covering the entire field.

In **Ziegler's** *Geschichte der Ethik* we have a very full treatment of the Ethics of the Greeks and Romans and of Christian Ethics.

Goss in *Die Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik*, in two volumes, covers the entire field.

Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, in two volumes, is a work of marked clearness and ability. It deals thoroughly with several of the influential types of Ethical thought from Plato to Comte, Mill and Spencer. He was one of the strongest champions of Intuitionism.

A meritorious short sketch of wide influence is **Sidgwick's** *History of Ethics*, written from the Utilitarian point of view.

The Bampton Lectures, 1895, by **T. B. Strong**, on *Christian Ethics*, is historical in its method, and will be consulted with much profit in many of the fundamental problems.

F. General Histories of Art

There are two books which will be of the greatest value to the student who seeks the fundamental knowledge necessary to appreciate works of art. The first of these is **Lübke's** *Outlines of the History of Art*, in two volumes. The second is **D'Anver's** *Elementary History*.

Books more special in their treatment are **Lindsay's** *Christian Art* and **Martin's** *Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

G. Philosophies of History

Flint's *Philosophy of History*, when completed, will be the most exhaustive contribution yet made to the subject. His method is to pass under critical review all the great attempts that have appeared and at the conclusion to give his own view. Thus far we have the Philosophy of History in France and Germany, which

appeared in 1874. More recently the author began the work of revision which has given us only the Philosophy of History in France in one large volume. The work as it stands is indispensable—and its completion will be awaited with much eagerness. Professor Flint's mind is critical in the highest degree—and it is hoped that it will prove equally constructive.

All parts of **Lotze's** *Microcosmus* are of interest to the student of historical philosophy but Book VII. on *History* will have perpetual value.

The eighteenth volume of **Laurent's** *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Humanité* contains the reflections of a great scholar and thinker on the course of human events.

The *Principles of History* is a translation of **Droysen's** profound little book—*Historik*. The translation was done with much care and thought by **President E. B. Andrews.**

Shedd's little volume on the *Philosophy of History* gives a strong Calvinistic view of the subject. **Goldwin Smith's** *Lectures on the Study of History* should be read as an antidote.

A small volume on the *Philosophy of History*, by **Professor Lloyd**, is the latest contribution to the subject. It is a very able and independent presentation of the Hegelian philosophy of history.

Although not pretending to be a Philosophy of History, **Orr's** *Christian View of God and the World*, has many of the marks of a philosophy of history and deserves careful attention.

Janet's *Histoire de la Science Politique* treats political development in its relation to moral development. The treatment is philosophical throughout.

The last two works of the late **Professor Bruce**, on *Providential Order*, and *Moral Order*, are extremely val-

uable contributions to certain phases of the Philosophy of History.

The *Intellectual Development of Europe*, by **Draper**, is still a work of interest.

The student of church history must, in the nature of the case, keep well abreast of current historical and theological thought. Among the periodicals that are most helpful are:

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte; The English Historical Review; The American Historical Review; The American Journal of Theology; American Journal of Sociology; and *The Biblical World.*

THE DEFINITION OF CHURCH HISTORY

Church history is the story of the application to human nature of the principles taught by Jesus Christ, and of the perversions of these principles. It is a story of lights and shadows with the lights largely predominating.

THE RELATION OF CHURCH HISTORY TO SECULAR HISTORY

Church history is an organic part of general history. History is a unit and no branch of history can be understood without some knowledge of all history.

Political history is simply history with the main emphasis put upon the political side; economic history is but history with the principal stress laid upon the economic side; church history is nothing more than history with the ecclesiastical elements in special prominence. God is in all history.

The serious student of history can leave no important phase of the subject entirely out of account. He

should understand at the beginning of his studies that he is about to deal with the most intricate and difficult of all subjects; a subject whose adequate treatment calls for the highest generalizing as well as for the clearest analytical power. Since this is a combination exceedingly rare the historical student should always be modest.

THE VALUE OF THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY

A. To the Student of General History

The important, oftentimes central, position the church has occupied during the Christian era, especially in the earlier centuries and the Middle Ages, makes a knowledge of church history absolutely necessary to a knowledge of secular history.

B. To the Student for the Ministry

The great lines of doctrine, of polity, of worship, of missionary activity, with their combinations of truth and error, with their influence for weal and for woe, have been so many gradual growths the products in large measure of the most various environments. The student, then, who would know the present must know all these meanders and their causes. If his studies have been properly carried on he will, at the end, have gathered the nuggets of gold and cast off the dross. He will thus find himself ready intelligently to advance into new fields of investigation and discovery.

C. To the Student of General Culture

There are few subjects that are attractive from so many points of view. In the history of the Christian church are found the noblest examples of piety and

devotion; of intellectual acuteness and power; of philosophical breadth; and of literary grace and charm. There are few traits of human nature that are not here again and again abundantly illustrated. Instruction and inspiration are found at every step of the way.

THE PURPOSE OF AN OUTLINE OF CHURCH HISTORY

A. To select the most comprehensive facts and ideas and state them in concise and luminous language.

B. To put them in their natural relation of cause and effect.

C. To suggest problems for further study and to make a more or less critical estimate of the sources of information.

D. To furnish a survey of the whole field so comprehensive and orderly that future work on special subjects may not seem disconnected and fragmentary.

It has been objected to all such brief statements that they undertake too much, because infinite care and trouble are necessary to establish the truth of a single fact.

But it has been answered that if the details are often doubtful, the leading facts are not, as e. g., The Battle of Marathon; The Reformation; The French Revolution.

Moreover in all the great disciplines, as Philosophy, Botany, Chemistry, it is becoming more and more the rule to begin the work with general courses.

THE TRUE SPIRIT OF HISTORICAL STUDY

A. The purely scientific aim of historical study is the ascertainment of historical truth.

At first thought this ideal appears very easy to reach, but upon closer examination it turns out to be almost unattainable.

Every school of philosophy, every school of theology, every religious denomination, has its point of view, and consciously or unconsciously, in a greater or less degree, historical interpretation is influenced by this point of view.

B. The true historian is widely learned, highly critical, cautious, calm, profoundly judicial, independent, a lover of humanity.

In his special department he will draw constantly from the original sources of information. He will never rest until he has given careful and respectful study to every fact on every side of every controversy. In the light of it all he will make up his mind.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE COMING OF THE SAVIOUR

Literature

McCurdy: *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 3 vols.

Kent: *Outline Study of Hebrew History.*

Goodspeed: *Israel's Messianic Hope.*

Price: *The Monuments and the Old Testament.*

Schürer: *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.*

Mathews: *History of New Testament Times.*

Stanley: *History of the Jewish Church*, 3 vols.

Dähne: *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Judisch-Alexandrianischen Philosophie.*

Derenbourg: *Histoire de la Palestine.*

The works of **Josephus** and **Philo.**

Drummond: *Philo Judaeus.*

Histories of Greece by **Grote, Curtius, Busolt, Holm, Abbott.**

Histories of Rome by **Mommsen, Ihne, Merivale, Arnold.**

Wenley: *The Preparation for Christianity.*

Breed: *The Preparation of the World for Christ.*

The Introductions to all the general church histories.

A. The Separate Preparations

It is to be observed that remarkable developments were going on simultaneously in different geographical localities, and in different environments. In each of these developments special elements were preparing which were later on to be found necessary to the general movement. We have the development of the Jews, the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, the Arabians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans with their ideas and institutions, many of which were later on to play so prominent a part in the progress of the world.

B. The Movements Towards Unity

One of the strongest passions in human nature is the passion for unity and order. This passion has shown itself all through history in the great men who have arisen at various critical junctures. These men have had great organizing power, and they have met with response and support from the people.

The movements to be mentioned are examples of this universal passion. They were led by a succession of great conquerors, as Nebuchadnezzar (B. C. 607-588), who combined in one empire Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and other countries; Cyrus the Persian (B. C. 558-529), who united nearly the whole of Asia; Alexander the Great (B. C. 336-323), who con-

quered the Eastern world and diffused Hellenic culture; and as the great Roman generals and statesmen who subdued the world and regulated it.

THE STATE OF THE WORLD AT THE COMING OF THE SAVIOUR

A. The Contributions of the Races

From the Greeks we get philosophy representing the different points of view. In Platonism spirituality reached its highest point in Greek thought. Plato (427-347 B. C.) was a theist but alongside of God he admitted the eternity of matter and "a realm of ideas, the patterns or archetypes of all realities." His Deity is the creator and controller of the universe. Man is a permanent personality. There is a difference between virtue and vice both in nature and consequence. This difference issues in the future happiness of the good man and in the future unhappiness of the bad man.

Plato's most distinguished pupil was Aristotle (384-322 B. C.). By the very nature of his mental constitution he differed from his master. His mind was practical, scientific, systematic, rather than mystical and speculative. His knowledge was universal, and he contributed to all the great disciplines of his age. Aristotle was a theist. God is the pure unmoved mover of all things, eternally creating and sustaining the universe.

His wide difference from Plato is seen in this: He rejected Plato's doctrine of patterns or archetypes. The universal is an abstraction from individuals, but individuals are not the mere manifestations of the archetypes or universals. It thus becomes easy to see

how Aristotle was the forerunner of Nominalism, which developed in the Middle Ages.

It was but natural that in the midst of such Titanic efforts to explain the universe some people should conclude that the problem was insoluble. This despair of knowledge was expressed by Pyrrho, 365-275 B. C. Judging from what he saw, from the lack of agreement among philosophers on all the essential problems, he said the more we speculate the more unhappy we shall be. The true course then is to make no positive statements on either side, since it is just as easy to prove one side as the other. The thing most desired is calmness—*ἀταραξία.*

We thus understand the entrance of skepticism into Greek thought, and it is to have great influence. Later on the skeptics are to occupy the chair of Plato at Athens. The skeptics are to reappear again and again in the stream of history.

The Epicureans taking their name from Epicurus, born about 340 B. C., were materialistic. In their search for the highest good they found it in happiness. This theory when reduced to practice led to consequences which Epicurus did not foresee.

The school of Stoicism was founded by Zeno, of Citium, who committed suicide about 260 B. C. The Stoics were on a much higher plane than the Epicureans. They were pantheistic. They looked with disdain upon the principles and practices of Epicureanism. They regarded the universe as a stupendous organism pervaded and informed by one universal Spirit. The process is emanation and absorption. "Individuals are like the waves of the sea which are but the transient forms which the mass of the waters for the moment bears." The wise man lives within

himself, and is serene, regardless of the accidents of life

The consciousness of imperfection in all these philosophical conceptions led to an eclecticism which found no satisfaction in any of the great systems, but which sought to discover and combine the truth in them all. The best early representative of eclecticism was Philo Judæus, a contemporary of Jesus. While we see in Philo the meeting and mingling of Greek and Jewish streams of thought we see at the same time the decadence of Greek philosophy.

Philosophy was the theology of the Greeks. In it they found the explanation of man, society and the world. Although system after system decayed and fell, and philosophy disappointed the highest hopes of its devotees, it nevertheless became a source of discipline and preparation, and contributed mightily to the advancement of the kingdom of God.

Greek culture and philosophy spread through all the Mediterranean lands and the dominions of Alexander the Great. "Wherever Alexander went he grafted western civilization on Orientalism, never losing sight of his ultimate object, that merging of east and west which he symbolized by his wedding with the Bactrian princess, Roxana."

The Greeks had given the world a spiritual interpretation of the universe, but it came far short of abiding satisfaction. The Jews were to advance far beyond anything that heathenism could offer. Their chief contribution was unique in that it set forth the idea of one God, and promised a Saviour.

They became divided into parties: the Pharisees who were rigidly orthodox, formal, casuistical, often hypocritical; the Sadducees who were priestly, not

averse to foreigners, rationalistic; and the Essenes who dwelt between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea and were monastic in their general characteristics.

There were many Jews in Alexandria. The greatest man among them was Philo, who being impressed with the essential agreement of much of Plato's philosophy with Old Testament teaching, sought to combine them.

The great leading doctrines of Judaism were accordingly peculiarly adapted to the deepest needs of heathenism, and already at the coming of the Saviour, monotheism was looked upon with high favor.

The extent of Jewish influence was very broad. The Jews were in a very marked degree a commercial people, and through their commerce they had reached the ends of civilization, carrying with them their religious doctrines. Naturally, therefore, there was a Jewish synagogue in almost every city.

To Rome we owe the clearest conception of universality the world has yet seen. Rome started with a struggle for existence. She early made the discovery that a compact between the inhabitants of two of her hills would be for the highest interest of both hills. From this beginning she advanced through conquest and political wisdom to universal dominion.

But to the conception of universality she added the conception of practical politics which realized itself in her dealings with the nations which she conquered.

By the very impulse of her ideas and her environments she was led to the conception of law through which she was able to break through the barriers of race and religion and unite the peoples whom she conquered into one vast empire. And as the empire grew and became organized great roads, "straight as an

arrow," were built which rendered communication quick and easy for that day.

To sum up: "Greece," says Freeman, "won the intellectual dominion of the world by her arts and her philosophy, Rome won the political dominion of the world by her arms and kept it by her abiding law. . . . If the Aryan world of Europe has learned its arts and its laws from its own elder brethren, it is from the Semitic stranger that it has learned its faith. But before the Semitic faith could become the faith of Rome and of Europe it had to be defined by the subtlety of Grecian intellect; the constitution of its organized society had to be wrought into shape by the undying genius of Roman rule. This Semitic faith, banished from its Semitic home, became the badge of Rome's dominion: the sway of Christ and Cæsar became words of the same meaning" (*Comparative Politics*, pp. 42, 43).

B. The Prevailing Despair of the World

That intense dissatisfaction was diffused throughout society at the time of our Lord's coming is one of the commonplaces of history. Everywhere there was deep longing for some eternal verity upon which mankind could rest and build its hopes. Philosophy, statesmanship, religion, had all done their best, but failed to meet the necessities of the real man. Morality had become lax, vice prevailed, souls that had not become insensible were tormented with remorse. In the face of death there was dark resignation, or utter hopelessness, or outbursts of wrath against the gods. This is seen in many of the epitaphs that have been preserved, of which these are specimens: "I, Procope, lift up my hands against the gods who took me hence, though innocent."

"Farewell, farewell, oh most sweet, forever and eternally, farewell."

"Our hope was in our boy; now all is ashes and lamentations."

"Once I was not; now I am not; I know nothing about it; it does not concern me."

"Fortune makes many promises, but keeps none; live for the present" (**Farrar**: *Lives of the Fathers*, Vol. I, p. 13).

The time had come for the advent of some new regenerating force. "In the fulness of time God sent forth his Son."

THE DIVISIONS OF CHURCH HISTORY

All divisions in history are more or less arbitrary. But the limitations of our intellectual powers make divisions necessary in the investigation of all complex subjects. It is true, moreover, that while all parts of history are organically connected, there are points which seem to be decisive in the flow of events, points which determine this flow in one direction rather than in others which it might have taken.

These points have been seized upon by historians for the bases of the divisions they are obliged to make.

It is customary to divide Church History:

A. According to Time

a. Ancient Church History—B. C. 4–A. D. 590, or from the birth of Christ to Gregory the Great.

b. Mediaeval Church History—590–1517; or from Gregory the Great to the posting of the ninety-five theses.

c. Modern Church History, from the posting of the ninety-five theses to the present time.

B. According to Subject Matter

a. The Relations of Church and State.

b. Church Extension or Christian Missions.

c. Christian Doctrines and the Controversies growing out of them leading to the origin and development of Christian Theology.

d. Christian Life and Worship.

e. Christian Literature.

BOOK FIRST

ANCIENT CHURCH HISTORY

(*B. C. 4—A. D. 590.*)

Literature

Harnack: *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.*

Cheetham: *Church History:* Early Period.

Hatch: *The Organization of the Early Christian Church.*

Bright: *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life.*

Farrar: *Lives of the Fathers.*

Banks: *The Development of Doctrine.*

Orr: *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity.*

Inge: *Society in Rome under the Caesars.*

Baur: *Church History in the First Three Centuries.*

Cunningham: *The Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions.*

Uhlhorn: *The Conflict of Christianity and Heathenism.*

Lecky: *The History of Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.*

Hodgkin: *Italy and Her Invaders*—in eight volumes. Indispensable.

Bindley: *The Œcumenical Documents of the Faith.*

Heurtley: *A History of the Earlier Formularies of the Faith.*

Early Church History to A. D. 430. A course of fifteen lectures by as many *distinguished Churchmen.*

Stevens and **Burton**: *Harmony of the Gospels for His-*

torical Study. Other Harmonies are **Broadus, Robinson** and **Clark.**

Lives of Christ by: **Edersheim, Weiss, Geikie, Keim, Andrews, Farrar.**

Burton and **Mathews**: *Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ.* Of great value especially for its method.

Burton: *The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age.*

Döllinger: *The First Age of Christianity and the Church.*

Ramsay: *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170.*
St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen.

Weizsäcker: *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church.*

Lightfoot: *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age.*

McGiffert: *The Apostolic Age.*

Bartlett: *The Apostolic Age.*

Vedder: *The Dawn of Christianity.*

Schiller: *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit unter der Regierung des Neros.*

Marsh: *The New Testament Church.*

Lanciani: *1st. Ancient Rome.*
2d. Pagan and Christian Rome.
3d. The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome. Of first importance for Roman Archaeology.

H. M. and **M. A. R. T.**: *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome.*

Cruttwell: *1st. A Literary History of Early Christianity.*
2d. A History of Roman Literature.

Krüger: *History of Early Christian Literature.*

Mathews: *Social Teachings of Jesus.*

Within this period Christianity has its origin, establishes itself in the face of fiery persecutions; extends itself throughout the Roman empire; becomes the religion of state; expresses itself in doctrines, orders and institutions; and in the course of its marvellous career makes mistakes from the consequences of which it suffers even in our own days.

CHAPTER I

THE APOSTOLIC AGE

(B.C. 4—A.D. 100)

This period of church history even in its barest outlines cannot be understood apart from some knowledge of the entire life of the age—political, social, and literary, as well as religious. We are thus led to notice:

A. The State of Politics and Society

At the opening of our period the Roman republic exists longer only in form, it has really yielded its place to the empire. This empire embraced the civilized world. The great Augustus knew how to be contented with the substance if not the form of dominion. There was consequently no revolution that the people could see. The Romans civilized wherever they conquered; distinctions that were in the way of unity were broken down; yet the individuality of the conquered peoples was properly preserved. The result was that these peoples began "to look upon themselves as Romans"; a spirit of loyalty developed, and Rome gradually ceased to be the ruling city, to become the capital of the Empire. But having thus begun to part with her power she lost it more and more until at last other cities supplanted her even in this honor.

It has been said that distinctions were broken down—but there were certain distinctions deeply drawn in the nature of the situation which could not be obliterated.

They are known as the Latin, Greek, and Oriental distinctions. They prove to be the lines of cleavage in the political and religious divisions that are to follow.

Augustus, however, during the forty-one years of his reign had quietly and without attracting attention centered in himself all the offices of the Senate and the people; had maintained eternal peace; and had secured great material prosperity. In short, he had rendered the world a service too great to be estimated. But yet the empire was not to endure as a visible empire. It had been ages in growing; it had developed ideas and institutions that were to be inwrought into the fabric of great states yet unborn. Through a long and painful process it is to decay, and in so doing it is to bequeath its treasures to coming generations. Augustus had set a standard to which few of his successors could attain, and it was fortunate for the world that they could not reach his altitude, because the welfare of mediæval and modern civilization involved the dissolution of the empire. When Augustus dies the end—far off, indeed—has already begun. His immediate successor is the cruel and tyrannical Tiberius, who is followed by the savage and insane Caligula, the weak and vacillating Claudius, and the monstrous Nero.

We are to note during our period some extension of empire; the rapid growth of centralization; the creation of large veteran armies which "are loyal to no country." Literature, brilliant in the beginning of the century, declines towards the end. Immorality and vice increase, and by the close of the century in the alternate triumphs of the good and the bad, the signs of political and social dissolution in the empire are unmistakable.

B. The Religious Life

It has already been mentioned that life in the ancient world had come to be regarded as a disappointment and a failure. There had been no lack of success so far as literature, or art, or generalship, or statesmanship, was concerned. Nay more, the problems of life itself had been wrestled with by some of the profoundest and most serious minds that any age has produced. Ethical systems of permanent historical value had been wrought out by the Greeks. No fault could be found with their idealism, but the positive influence of these systems on practical life counted for little.

The Jews, with their doctrine of the unity of God, had likewise expressed their urgent longings in their prophets, and psalmists and lawgivers, but yet, as the centuries rolled on, life became more and more unbearable to them, became the prolific source of sin and sorrow, for the human will remained untouched. Their only hope of relief was found in the expectation of a Messiah. It is no wonder then that mankind, sin-sick, disappointed, weary, and uncertain, was shrouded in gloom.

A. THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF JESUS

At this critical stage in the evolution of human history, four years before the date usually assigned for the beginning of the new era, Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea. He descended through the royal line of David. He grew up in His home at Nazareth, in Galilee, unobserved, receiving the customary religious training of the Jewish boy of the time. During His childhood at Nazareth we are told that: The Child grew and waxed strong, filled with

wisdom; and the grace of God was upon Him. When twelve years old He visited Jerusalem with His parents, and amazed the doctors with His understanding and answers. He then returned to Nazareth where He remained eighteen years, and was subject unto His parents, and advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men.

When He was thirty years old He was baptized of John in the Jordan; was tempted in the wilderness, and entered upon His public life and teaching. He chose His disciples, and soon the fame of Him had spread through all Palestine, and the multitudes thronged Him. He gradually unfolded His great mission which was the establishment of the kingdom of God. He always preceded His teachings with deeds of love and mercy, thus teaching by example as well as precept.

When John sent from his prison to ask Him, "Art Thou he that cometh or look we for another?" Jesus answered and said unto them: "Go and tell John the things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, and the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good tidings preached to them. And blessed is he, whosoever shall find none occasion of stumbling in Me" (Matthew 11: 3-6).

But it was not long until opposition from the scribes and Pharisees arose against Him. They saw clearly enough that His triumph meant their defeat. His doctrines were in harmony with the Judaism of the past, but they were radically antagonistic to the Pharisaism of the present. The enmity thus aroused deepened hour by hour. Many in the multitudes as they saw the real nature of His proposed kingdom fell away. But He grew more definite and more positive in His

teachings, more severe in His denunciations of the hypocrisies of the scribes and Pharisees. At the end of three years He was betrayed, arrested, and in the course of His farcical trial before Caiaphas said absolutely to His enemies that He was the Messiah. Then after another unjust trial before Pilate, He was scourged and crucified. After three days He arose from the dead; appeared during forty days at various times to His disciples; and was received up into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God. "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written, every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written" (John 21: 25).

In this life we have a perfect and harmonious union of history and idealism. Jesus, in all His teachings, made prominent His vital connection and His oneness with the Father. Moreover, His acts made clear His practical mission to mankind. As He was sitting at meat in Matthew's house, and many publicans and sinners were sitting with Him and His disciples, the scribes and the Pharisees were shocked and spoke of it to His disciples. "And when Jesus heard it He saith unto them: They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick; I came not to call the righteous but sinners" (Mark 2: 17).

Thus in the life and teachings of Jesus the dark problems of human life are solved; the defects in all previous ideas and systems are rounded out; sin is not justified, but through faith sin may be destroyed and its consequences removed. "Through these facts man is admitted into a new moral environment, his social being is seen in the light of a spiritual order." God and man are united through faith in Christ. The

ideal relation of man's sonship to God finds practical expression in the universal brotherhood of the human race.

B. THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH

We have already observed that the great mission of our Lord was the establishment of the kingdom of God. He entered upon His work using the words of John the Baptist: "The kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye" (Mark 1: 15).

The expression, "kingdom of God," is used in the Gospels one hundred and twelve times. It was to be a spiritual kingdom. It was to embrace all the redeemed of all ages, of all races, of all conditions, on earth and in heaven. He Himself sitting at the right hand of the Father, was to be the King. From the beginning there could be no false or hypocritical members of this kingdom. The visible members on earth may be full of imperfections, but they will have the love of God in their hearts, and at last this mighty principle will rule them.*

Thus the kingdom of God is founded, but its complete realization is far in the future. The grand final consummation is to be brought about through individuals co-operating in communities which the Apostles called churches. These churches are to be created and directed by the Holy Spirit. The Master has said: "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send Him unto you" (John 8: 7).

The descent of the Holy Spirit occurred on the great day of Pentecost, ten days after the ascension, on Sunday (Acts 2: 1-12).

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*See **Hastings**: *Dict. of Bib.*, Art. "Kingdom of God."

At this point the church may be said to enter upon its great career.

C. CHURCH ORGANIZATION

Evidently, the great mission of the church cannot be accomplished without organization. There are many separate communities. They must be orderly within themselves, and they must be harmonious among themselves. That this internal and external order existed cannot be doubted. But when we inquire as to the nature of the organization we find the widest divergence of opinion among scholars. Four leading types of view are maintained to-day.

The World Church Theory

"Shortly after His glorious ascension a religious society sprang into existence, the members of which being united under one head, Christ, professed the same faith, participated in the same sacraments and were governed by the divinely inspired apostles, with Peter at their head. This office is still continued by their lawful successors, the Popes and the bishops of the church. . . . The church . . . is the kingdom of Christ on earth" (**Alzog**, *Univ. Ch. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 3).

From this statement we understand that the Christian ministry is a priesthood; that the priesthood is an office; that Christ can be approached and worshiped acceptably only through this office. The man in the office is a minor consideration, but the office itself is of prime importance. The highest office is that of the Pope, the successor of Peter, and the rightful head of the Christian world.

The National Church Theory

According to this view church members in a nation should be subject to a national synod or organization.

Its positions are stated as follows:

1st. Our Lord nominated the Apostles.

2d. The Apostles ordained elders in every church, and deacons in the Church of Jerusalem.

3d. Paul left Titus in Crete to ordain elders in every city, and gave Timothy directions to ordain elders in Ephesus.

4th. This was the custom in all the churches in the world for one thousand five hundred years.*

This theory is closely related to the preceding one. The best example is the Church of England. Almost identical is the Episcopalian polity. Kindred but differing widely is the polity of the Methodist Episcopal church.

The Presbyterian Polity

The leading characteristics are: 1st. A simple method, orderly but not ritualistic. 2d. A representative system of government which gives the laity a place of equality with the clergy in church affairs. 3d. A reasoned Scriptural doctrine, free from extravagance, appealing to the spiritual intelligence, and resting upon conviction rather than upon impulse.†

The Congregational Polity

The view finds in the Apostolic church:

1st. The absolute independence of the local church.

2d. The priesthood of all believers.

There was no recognition of fixed orders in the ministry, or officers in the church through which, as media, the individual must have access to God.

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*See **Cutts**: *Turning Points Gen. Ch. Hist.*, p. 115, and **Bright**: *Some Aspects of Prim. Ch. Life*, pp. 1-100.

†See **Rev. Alexander McEwen**, D.D., in *N. Y. Independent*, July 6, 1896. Also **McPherson**: *Presbyterianism.*

3d. The greatest emphasis was placed upon the personal character of the one who was to minister the word, and execute the laws of love that permeated the life and teachings of Jesus.

4th. Freedom in the choice of ministers.

5th. Christian fellowship for, and sympathetic co-operation with, all churches of the same faith and order.

In harmony with this view it may be said that: A church is ideally a voluntary organization consisting of regenerated and baptized believers in Jesus Christ. The mission of a church is the establishment of the kingdom of God in its individual members and in all the world. A church is an agency for the extension of the kingdom of God. A church aims at the highest attainable development of the personality of each one of its members, and it becomes strong and efficient as a body just in proportion as each of its members is symmetrically strong.*

Very early in their existence the churches required for their spiritual life certain officers. Thus overseers and teachers were needed at once and they appeared as bishops, or presbyters, or pastors. The care of the poor and the proper distribution of alms led to the appointment of deacons. Very soon, therefore, the two great offices of the early church—the pastorate and the diaconate—were fixed.

Each of these forms of organization has in our times a large and powerful following. The debate between them, which suffers from no lack of vigor, is con-

*See **Walker**: *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism.* **Strong**: *Systematic Theology—Ecclesiology.* **Dargan**: *Ecclesiology—A Study of the Churches.* **Hastings**: *Dict. Bib.*, Arts. "Church" and "Church Government."

ducted on a high plane of Christian scholarship. The standard of appeal is and must remain the right interpretation of the New Testament. The correctness of New Testament interpretation will be largely determined by the fruits of each polity as found in history.

D. THE ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH

As in the case of organization, so opinions differ widely in regard to the ordinances. These differences pertain to the nature and the number of the sacraments.

According to the Roman Catholic view there were seven sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Ordination, Penance, Marriage, Extreme Unction. These ordinances have supernatural power, and the recipient is made holy through their efficacy. Many Protestants, while rejecting the number seven, agree, to a greater or less extent, as to the importance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper as necessary channels of saving grace.

Protestants find but two ordinances in the New Testament—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Those who are not sacramentalists regard these ordinances as: "Those outward rites which Christ has appointed to be administered in His church as visible signs of the saving truth of the Gospel. They are signs in that they vividly express this truth and confirm it to the believer" (See **Strong**: *Syst. Theol.*., p. 520).

Upon profession of faith in Christ believers were admitted into the church through baptism into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

The form of baptism was immersion. The New Testament is silent as to the baptism of infants.*

*See **Hastings**: *Dict. Bib.*, Art. "Baptism"—for general discussion and literature.

The Lord's Supper early became the central ordinance of the church. In the course of history it grew into one of the main sources of contention and conflict —in Romanism before the Reformation, in Protestantism during and after the Reformation.

The passages in the New Testament which have an undoubted bearing on the subject are: Matt. 26: 26-28; Mark 14: 22-24; Luke 22: 19, 20. Also 1 Cor. 10: 16-22 and 11: 23-29.

It will be observed that only Luke contains the clause: This do in remembrance of me, which is repeated in 1 Cor. 11: 25.

With so much of a Scriptural basis, and the fact that the ordinance was generally observed in the churches immediately following the times of the Apostles, we seem warranted in the conclusion that: The Lord's Supper was instituted by Christ as a remembrance to show forth his death till he come; and that the ordinance was intended to be perpetual and universal.*

E. DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CHURCH

Our Lord had left nothing uncertain about the nature of the kingdom of God; or the conditions of admission to the kingdom; or His own divine personality; or the practical duties of life as seen in His ethics; or the reality of the future life towards which all men were hastening.

But it is probably certain that His own disciples—much more the multitudes—did not fully understand his unique life and teachings. Yet His death and the events of the forty days made a profound impression. The depth and extent of meaning in it all began

*For discussion and literature, see Art. "The Lord's Supper," **Hastings:** *Dict. Bib.*

immediately to awaken the thought of the Apostles and of all intelligent people. These ideas and principles had the strongest affinity for everything that was good in the world whether it was Jewish or Gentile. They recognized fully the culture, and the thought and the varied personalities of that time and of all possible times. The cultivation and development of these germinal ideas would, if permitted to proceed freely, lead to the elimination of sin and imperfection, and then to ideal individuals, and ultimately to an ideal society. They were nothing short of universal. And their first work must be done on individuals. They do not work upon humanity in the lump. There is not nor can there ever be a perfect society that is not composed of perfect individuals, and the perfect individuals must always have the priority. It is undoubtedly true that "A is the cause of B and B is the cause of A," but we must have A in some form before we can have B in any form. That is to say: Perfect individuals are the cause of a perfect society, but a perfect society is also the cause of perfect individuals.

That Jesus was the Messiah was the fundamental article of faith for all the apostolic writings. His preexistence was clearly taught by John and Paul. But when we remember the fathomless depths of His heart, the vastness of His thought, and the finiteness of the human mind and human language, we need not be surprised at the varying types of apostolic doctrine, or at the progress of doctrine in the same Apostle; that Christian theology of a speculative type should originate with Paul; that John, from his deep well of spiritual intuition, should find love "the clew to the solution of all problems"; that James should be per-

meated with a spirit of perfected legal righteousness from which he never escaped.

And yet these leading characteristics do not adequately express the mind of these Apostles, for Paul gives almost greater prominence to the mystical union with Christ, and has a heart full of love; John is profoundly speculative; and James is far removed from Pharisaism.

Among the doctrines clearly taught are those about God—the "Father of Lights, in whom there is no variableness or shadow of turning"; Faith; Repentance; Reconciliation; the Second Coming of Christ; the Resurrection; and the endowment of the Holy Spirit. There are also definite signs of incipient Gnosticism, which the apostles opposed.

F. CHRISTIAN LIFE

The early Christians had a strong and steady union through the bonds of Christian love. All the circumstances were, besides, such as to bind them together in the closest fellowship. Although they were grouped into small, weak and despised communities; although their influence was extremely limited, and they had powerful and relentless enemies, they nevertheless had an absolute conviction of the truth and righteousness of their religion. Such a conviction when it is of very truth and is sustained by persistent energy always prevails. And it is easy to understand how this common spirit, this common purpose threatened by this common danger would lead to a compact and irresistible community, to a community in which purity of life would obtain, in which woman would be elevated to equal companionship with man, in which all the hard conditions of life would be ameliorated.

LIBRARY

But yet the community had scarcely become sure of its existence when differences began to arise within it. Varieties of opinion, the necessary conditions of progress, began to assert themselves. Sometimes these opinions were true, sometimes they were false, more frequently they were partly true and partly false. Opinion soon manifested itself in action—coarse worldly temptations bore in upon the weaker ones; intellectual pride showed itself among the better educated; woman released from bondage went to the opposite extreme—often to the extent of indelicacy. Against all these tendencies the customary antithesis of asceticism arose. For instance, marriage became the subject of widely different views. Some required it, others rejected it; others, as Paul, took a mediating position. We are thus able to see that already many of the problems of practical Christian life have arisen and are demanding solution.

The entire spirit of the Gospel was antagonistic to slavery. It could only be a question of time when the institution would be destroyed. Yet the method of attack was gradual and indirect. Christians who owned slaves used them kindly, and the kindness met a response from the slaves. Slaves became Christians and there begins in this relation the realization of the brotherhood of man. As the idea of the universal brotherhood of man advances, in the same ratio will slavery disappear.

Jesus had taught that the civil authorities were divinely ordained, and that, within their proper sphere, they must be supported and obeyed. The early Christians had, therefore, no disposition to be disobedient. They were, in fact, thoroughly loyal, and had the state not made requirements beyond the jurisdiction

of the true state, and requirements impossible for Christians to meet, there would never have been any difference between them and the civil authorities. It cannot be too strongly or too constantly emphasized, that Christ came into the world to promote directly or indirectly every good idea and every good institution. His unrelenting opposition was to sin and evil in all their forms. But this subject will receive further attention under the persecutions.

G. CHURCH EXTENSION

Christianity is missionary in its very essence.

"And He said unto them: Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and rise again the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem. Ye are witnesses of these things" (Luke 24: 46, 47).

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto My Father" (John 14: 12).

The cosmopolitan character of Christianity was seen in the wide representation of nations at Pentecost, where each man heard them speaking in his own tongue the mighty works of God. This universal good news, then, that touches with the love of God our common human nature at its core is to go to the ends of the earth. The movement of Christian missions starts at once upon its wonderful career.

Peter

The impetuous disciple was the preacher at Pentecost. He had the true spirit of his Master, yet he never entirely escaped from the thralldom of the law.

Naturally, therefore, he became first of all the missionary to the Jews. Yet not exclusively so, for his work extends among the heathen, "beginning with Cornelius." His preaching extends to Pontus, Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia. That Peter was ever in Rome is a tradition. That he was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years has no sufficient foundation in fact, although in the time of Jerome it was a common tradition.*

Paul

But the ideal missionary was still wanted. He must be a man of culture; of the widest sympathies; capable of appropriating the new while holding fast what was permanent in the old; clear and profound in conviction; balanced in judgment; courageous but calm in the most critical situations; gifted with limitless endurance and energy. In short the ideal missionary must be a universal man. Such was Paul.

The center for the Gentile Christians was Antioch in Syria. It was from here that Paul and his co-laborers set out on their missions to the heathen.

"Now there were at Antioch in the church that was there, prophets and teachers. . . . And as they ministered unto the Lord and fasted the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. Then, when they had fasted and prayed they laid their hands on them and sent them away" (Acts 13: 1-4).

From this moment the Gospel began to spread over the nations of all the world. Paul was the chief agent in this extension. In the first missionary journey he

*For a short re-examination of evidence, see **Foster**: *Fundamental Ideas of the Roman Catholic Church*, pp. 12-16.

and Barnabas went to Cyprus preaching in its chief cities, then to various towns in Asia Minor—as Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium and Lystra.

On the second journey, accompanied by Silas, he revisited some of the churches in Asia Minor, then—led by a vision, he crossed the narrow strait into Europe, preaching in Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth.

On a third journey he remained two years at Ephesus after which he visited Macedonia and Greece, and then came to Jerusalem. Here he was arrested by the Roman captain of the Temple, and after two years confinement at Caesarea, as a prisoner he went on his mission to the Romans.

Now after having preached the Gospel and established churches among the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans—the three great civilized nations of the time—he comes to the end of his great life. He is able to write: "I have fought the good fight. The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto His heavenly kingdom; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. Grace be with you."

H. CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The literary productions of the Christians of the first century were not numerous or extensive. Jesus Himself wrote nothing, and the Apostles were not men of literary training. They used writing as a means of preserving the memory of the words, the deeds, the death and resurrection of the Master, and of elaborating and applying the principles that He taught. When churches were established, and the problems of church life with all their perplexities began to arise, the demand for instruction and encouragement became an

urgent necessity. The Apostles were often far away when they were most needed. They could only reach the churches by means of letters. Most of these letters were written to meet some particular emergency. The Epistle to the Galatians, for instance, was called out by the judaizing teachers in the churches of Galatia. But while the letter met some specific case or cases, it usually contained fundamental doctrinal expositions which would hold for all coming time. So the Gospel of John was inspired to meet the gnostic tendencies of Cerinthus of Ephesus (Irenaeus). But as John had known the Lord more intimately than any other man this Gospel is an indispensable supplement to the synoptics. Thus there grew up in this early century, the Gospels, the Epistles, the Acts and the Apocalypse, which made up the inspired writings to be later embodied in the New Testament Canon. These writers little understood that their writings were to be preserved in a book which should influence the thinking and guide the devotions of all succeeding ages. And yet it was so.

I. THE PERSECUTIONS*

But the new kingdom was to make its way only in the face of the fiercest opposition. Its doctrines opposed both the trend of custom and the strongest natural tendencies in the human heart. These doctrines have never been agreeable to human nature simply as such, nor can they ever be. This will be seen the moment we look at the facts.

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*Since the causes of the persecutions are nearly all found in the first century, and since the subject is best discussed without divisions, we discard our temporal divisions in this case.

The persecutions were both Jewish and heathen. We may take them up in their order, noticing first:

The Persecutions by the Jews

The Jews had secured the crucifixion of the Lord. It was not to be expected that His followers, whose deliberate and persistent purpose it was to disseminate His doctrines in all the earth, should escape.

Specifically, then, what were the principal causes of this persecution?

They may be briefly given as follows: Judaism had gone to seed in Pharisaism. Pharisaism was a service of formal and legal righteousness, from which the spirit had long since taken its flight. Its bulky and complicated system of laws was constantly receiving additions, and their observance had become unbearable—even impossible. Here then was a seed-plot of hypocrisy which matured rapidly and bore abundant fruit.

Moreover, between Pharisaism and heathenism there was a great gulf fixed. The Pharisees were haughty and exclusive, looking with supreme disdain upon "publicans and sinners."

Pharisaism, too, was looking for a temporal kingdom of Judah, which should expel the hated Roman and rule the world.

Now Christianity was the radical antithesis of all this. It meant the fulfillment of the law, and therefore freedom from the law. It meant also a spiritual kingdom, a kingdom not of this world, a kingdom of Heaven. Again, what was, if possible, the most shocking of all, both Jews and Gentiles were to be citizens of this kingdom. The kingdom was to be universal.

The result of this deeply-seated antagonism was the persecution of the weaker side. It is seen in the martyrdom of Stephen, and the beheading of James, the brother of John.

But an unexpected result was the spread of Christianity through the Christians who fled from Jerusalem, and through the conversion of Paul who became the Apostle to the Gentiles.

The Persecutions by Heathenism

The causes of these persecutions are found in the essential differences between Christianity and paganism. These differences arose in the consideration of such subjects as:

1st. The highest good. The pagan said it was the state. The state was the end of life. Since the emperor was the incarnation of the idea of the state, he must be worshiped.

The Christian was loyal to the state, but to him the kingdom of God was the highest good. But the kingdom of God is not chiefly of this world. Therefore he could not worship the emperor.

2d. As to the duration of the Roman state.

The pagan said it was eternal. The Christian said it was temporal.

3d. The universal claims and uncompromising attitude of Christianity in respect to other religions.

It had come to destroy them all as religions. Its promoters in their zeal and their suffering were perhaps too unwilling to recognize any elements of worth in these religions.

4th. Christianity smote the aristocratic proclivities of heathenism.

Its God was no respecter of persons. All men were

of one blood, for "we are His offspring." According to the new teaching the slave might equal or even surpass in worth the Eupatrid with his long line of illustrious ancestors running back even to a god.

5th. Christianity taught the forgiveness of enemies.

But blood revenge was an imperative duty for the clansman, and the "resentment of injuries a sacred obligation." How then could he forgive his enemies and pray for those who despitefully used him?

6th. Christianity recognized and emphasized the infinite worth of the individual human soul.

This had never been done before, and the pagan could not understand it.

7th. An extremely practical objection to Christianity came from the commercial point of view. There were many classes whose entire livelihood depended upon the social and religious customs of heathenism. "The makers of silver shrines at Ephesus, who raised the riot to murder St. Paul, were representatives of a class. All idol-makers, flower-sellers, purveyors of victims, architects of temples, sculptors, painters, decorators, oracle-mongers, soothsayers, augurs, astrologers, casters of horoscopes, all charioteers, gladiators, boxers, athletes, actors, players in mimes, singers, dancers, tavern-keepers—all the vast throng of the degraded and the reprobates who lived by ministering to guilty pleasures—were arrayed in arms against those whose victory would be their ruin" (**Farrar**: *Lives of the Fathers*, Vol. I., p. 21).

Evidently, then, the new religion had come to bring not peace but a sword, and the war that was begun at that time has gone on from that day to this without parley and without truce.

These causes were followed by corresponding results. The Christians were regarded as enemies of the state; they were branded as atheists; they were stigmatized as haters of the whole human race; in the eyes of the law they deserved torture and death; and Pliny spoke of Christianity as a "distorted and extravagant superstition, aggravated by contumacy and inflexible obstinacy."

How completely the misrepresentations of the Christians had misled the best emperors and the best writers of the times is seen in the oft-quoted passage of **Tacitus** in which he speaks thus: "Men whom the common people called Christians; men hated for their enormities. . . . After the condemnation of Christ by Pontius Pilate, the deadly superstition, after having been repressed for a time, was again breaking out, not only throughout Judea, where the curse originated, but even throughout the city, which is the common sewer and metropolis of all things repulsive or shameful" (*Ann.* 15:44).

The persecutions lasted in fits and starts for almost three centuries. But Christianity steadily gained influence, although at a fearful expenditure of suffering and blood. At last in 310 Galerius issued an edict of general toleration. This was followed by another, in 312, from Constantine at Rome for the western empire. Again, Constantine in connection with his fellow-emperor, Licinius, reissued it at Milan in 313.* In 324 Constantine became sole ruler, and the dim but growing light of toleration "brightened into the settled day."

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*For the edict, see **Eusebius:** *Church History*, Bk. V., Chap. 5.

J. THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 70 A.D.

The Jews had always been restive under Roman rule —and with just cause. The majority of the Roman procurators had been tyrannical, or dishonest, or unwise in their management. There arose, accordingly, an extreme party of zealots whose opposition to Rome was steady and usually extreme. Several uprisings had been quelled with great cruelty, as in Caesarea, in 66, where twenty thousand Jews were slaughtered.

Nero decided to subjugate the Jews, and deputed Vespasian for the task. It was left, however, for Vespasian's son, Titus, to accomplish the work, after his father had become emperor.

The fall of Jerusalem is one of the most appalling events in all history, but the results were helpful to the progress of Christianity.

Among these results are to be mentioned: The breaking up of the chief center of Jewish power, and consequently Jewish persecution of Christians; and a fulfillment of our Lord's prophecies as recorded in Matthew and Luke (see Matt. 21:43, 23: 37-39; Luke 21: 20-28). The event also led the Romans to distinguish sharply between the Jews and the Christians.

The first century was one of intense activity. It was the period of the first shock of the application of new and radical principles—principles that called for a complete reversal of ideas and conduct in many regions of society. These principles were not only revolutionary, but they asserted themselves with tremendous persistency and power.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO CONSTANTINE

(100–313)

A. Politics and Society

In the preceding period we saw what, on the whole, indicated that the new empire was already on the road to dissolution. In this period the same tendencies are to be observed. But yet, nearly all the second century would seem to indicate the contrary, for it was the age of the great Antonines and the Five Good Emperors. Beginning with Nerva in 96 in continuous succession to the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180, the throne was occupied by statesmen, warriors, and philosophers of large genius and lofty aims, and we have one of the golden ages of history. But it is a mark of disease now and then to relax its grip, and apparently to cease its ravages, only later on to take a more vigorous and deadly hold. So after Domitian came the happy age of the Antonines only to be followed by a period of anarchy and disorder which should carry the empire through another long stage in the process of decay. This stage was introduced by Commodus, the dissolute son of Marcus Aurelius. In all essential respects Commodus was unlike his illustrious father. Instead of finding his chief delight in problems of statecraft and philosophy, he found it rather among the gladiators and in midnight orgies. He was unbridled in his anger, and

reckless in condemning to death those who fell under his suspicion. He was finally assassinated in 192.

As we pass on through the third century and meet the wickedness of such emperors as Caracalla and Elagabalus, and see the empire become an elaborate military monarchy, resting for its authority upon the caprice of coarse and brutal soldiers; as we sometimes see several emperors fighting for the supremacy; as we see sensuality increasing in society, and manly feeling decaying, and the marriage tie disregarded, and wealth and the grosser pleasures becoming the ruling motives, we are impressed that the end is at hand.

But not yet. It is true that the political and social structure has weakened at almost every point; that the barbarians are breaking through the northern frontiers; and that the Persians are invading the east. But these external enemies are temporarily beaten back, and there is still hope if some statesman of "profound and subtle genius" can come to the rescue. Such a man was Diocletian, 284-305.

Now it must be remembered that the empire had incorporated many forms of government; many different races, speaking as many different languages, and following as many different customs; many types of civilization; and many kinds of barbarism. Moreover, in this vast territory there were numerous geographical features which later on were to make natural and scientific boundaries of states. Wonders had been worked in the assimilation of this heterogeneous mass, and all citizens in the provinces, from Britain in the extreme west to the far east, called themselves Romans.

Nevertheless, in the very nature of the case this assimilation could not be perfect. Despite all power-

ful influences to the contrary, original types would reassert themselves. Besides, as we have seen, the frontiers are exposed at numerous points. The facts indicate clearly that such a mass of differing human beings cannot be governed from one center and by one emperor. Diocletian is the child of his age. The spirit of the time will find expression in the new arrangement he is to establish. There shall be two emperors. Each one shall be called Augustus. There shall be two subordinates called Caesars. The Caesars shall be located—one at York in Britain, the other at Trier in Gaul. Maximian, one of the Augusti, shall have his court at Milan, while Diocletian, the other Augustus, and the real ruler of all, shall have his court at Nicomedia. A glance at the map will show that by this arrangement the frontiers from Britain to Asia Minor are guarded. Thus not only was the coming dismemberment postponed, but most important ideas within the body could be brought to greater maturity, and all together could be preserved until the times should be full for the mingling of Greek, Roman and Jewish elements with the vigorous barbarian elements of the north, and for the foundations of modern society to be laid. This was to come through the barbarian invasions.

Most important, perhaps, of these later developments is that of the Roman law. We have observed that the Romans were pre-eminently a legal people. This was true in the time of the commonwealth and it continued to be true in the empire. The sources of the Roman law were the statutes and customs and interpretations of the courts. But until the beginning of our period there had been no attempt at codification. Owing to the great multiplication of these laws,

there arose great contradiction and confusion. The emperors and lawyers were accordingly compelled to seek for general principles by which all that was valuable in this great mass could be systematized, and all that was superfluous and contradictory could be eliminated. The ethics of Stoicism, which was the dominant philosophy of the time, exercised a controlling influence in this undertaking. This pioneer work was the beginning of the process that four hundred years later evolved into the great code of Justinian. The influence of the Roman law on all succeeding ages has been incalculable.*

B. The Development of Christianity

Whilst momentous changes have been going on in the political and social life of the empire, Christianity has been rapidly developing its various lines of activity. It spreads like leaven from its small and despised beginnings in Palestine through the whole imperial organism; it advances towards centralization; it justifies itself with facts and arguments, thus pushing back its enemies, and creating a literature, and coming nearer to the point at which it will be obliged to make a scientific statement of its great leading doctrines.

The principle phases of this activity are seen in:

A. CHURCH EXTENSION

LITERATURE

Barnes: *Two Thousand Years of Missions before Carey.*
Smith: *Short History of Christian Missions.*
Scudder: *Nineteen Centuries of Missions.*
Clarke: *A Study of Christian Missions.*

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*See **Hadley**: *Introduction to Roman Law.* **Morey**: *Outlines of Roman Law.*

We have already mentioned the essentially missionary character of Christianity. We have seen how the Apostles made it their greatest purpose to establish churches not only among the Jews, but also among the Gentiles; how the idea was universal. It is an interesting fact that in the earlier part of this period the Christians were more widely diffused than numerous. But every Christian created an atmosphere wherever he went; and this diffusion meant the establishment of many centers. From these centers, so full of life and light, the good news, despite the fires of persecution, spread steadily and sometimes rapidly among the heathen, whose conversion was the chief concern of this period.

By the middle of the second century the Gospel had been introduced into Edessa in Mesopotamia and into Persia, Media, Parthia, and Bactria.

In the last quarter of the same century, Alexandria in Egypt was a flourishing missionary center, animated by Pantaenus and his school of catechumens. He was followed by Clement and Origen. Perhaps **Clement's** *Exhortation to the Heathen* was read before the students of this school.

From Asia Minor as a center, churches were founded at Lyons and Vienne in southern Gaul — **Irenaeus** was bishop of Lyons. Here he wrote his treatise, *Against Heresies.*

It seems certain that early in the third century Christianity was introduced into Britain. By whom it is impossible to say. For a long time it maintained a precarious existence, exercising but little influence upon the Celtic peoples of the island. Thus into all parts of imperial Rome the disciples of the Nazarene had found their way and were destined to prevail.

B. THE GROWTH OF CENTRALIZATION

The motives to strong ecclesiastical organization in the second and third centuries were very powerful. These motives were of several kinds. Successfully to withstand the persecutions, and, indeed, to make large progress in their very face required the leadership of genius. Within the body of the church itself the most intricate problems were continually presenting themselves. In the first place these problems concerned the practical Christian life which, in emerging from heathenism, needed intelligent and spiritual direction. This life was also ever beset with many temptations to which it often yielded, bringing disgrace and shame on the whole body. In the second place these problems had to do with the basal doctrines taught by Jesus and elaborated by the Apostles. To preserve these doctrines in their purity and at the same time to make them practically effective in a world not without striking merits of its own required ability of the highest order.

Now if the great lines of spiritual force originating in the myriads of Christian hearts were to be conserved and utilized; if they were not in large measure to be dissipated and lost, they must be brought into unison. This could be done only through organization. And, fortunately for the world, in times of extreme crisis popular intuition usually leads to the choice of the wisest generalship. But a general or a president or a teacher who comes to the front in an emergency tends to become a permanent officer. The people, in their gratitude and inexperience, not only offer no opposition, but usually fall into line and follow; and so in such a favorable environment centralization begins and grows.

But there were not wanting impressive historical models to influence the early builders of church polity. There was the system of the Roman religion still retaining much of its vitality; there were the abiding influences of the Jewish economy whose truest spirit had much in common with the spirit of Christianity; and most influential of all these there was the imposing structure of imperial Rome right before their eyes That these models contributed a large share to the subsequent developments cannot be doubted.

As emergencies arose they were too serious for the play of small politics, and as if by instinct the most efficient members of the communities were put to the front. The very ablest became the leader among his equals, and gradually combined several functions in himself, and if his ability sustained him, he became the chief source of power and influence in the community. The stronger communities established branches which they, of course, controlled; the weaker independent communities by the very force of circumstances tended to come more and more under the control of the stronger. Towns became centers varying in their influence according to their size, the degree of their culture, their historical position, and their geographical situation. Questions too difficult or of too general interest to be settled by local communities were carried up to synods composed of representatives of all the communities, and usually the ablest man presided at the sessions of the synod. In the course of this process gradually and naturally each member seemed to fall into his proper place. The clergy and the laity are separated, and ecclesiastical orders arise.

And so, when the tendency became marked, power rapidly became centralized in a few bishops who

became archbishops or metropolitans of principalities such as Antioch, Alexandria and Rome.

That the Roman church should occupy a very exalted position among the other churches was to be expected. The wonderful history of the city; the great size of its church; the high character and wide influence of its members; its far-reaching missionary activity; its liberality; the fact that after the middle of the second century Peter began to be thought the founder and first bishop of the church—all these causes combined to give the church at Rome, as we shall see, the central and controlling influence over all Christendom. Thus while we find no satisfactory evidence of a hierarchy at the founding of the church we do find a gradual development leading to a very advanced hierarchy at the opening of the fourth century.

C. MONTANISM

As Christianity became organized in its constitution it became orderly in its worship. The tendency was irresistible to bring everything under rule—either written or understood. A spirit was soon begotten that was shocked at everything that was irregular or spontaneous. Enthusiasm was dampened and chilled. Formalism began to grow. Now there will always be certain natures that will be restive under such restraints. They will feel that spirituality has departed from worship that is conducted in this way, and at last the spirit of revolt will come to a head in some leader who will gather about himself all the discontented elements. This is an explanation of Montanism.

Montanus was a Mysian who arose about 145 and soon had a large following. A revolt never stops at moderation and, accordingly, Montanus had some

extreme views. These extreme views were seized upon by his enemies and magnified out of all due proportion—until the most horrifying reports were in circulation about him and his disciples.

Montanism spread through Phrygia and to a considerable extent through Italy. But it achieved its greatest success in Africa, where it was so fortunate as to win the great Tertullian, who has been its efficient spokesman to succeeding ages.

Its principal influence was in the second and third centuries. By the end of the fourth century it had ceased to exist.

D. CHURCH DISCIPLINE

Despite the best efforts that could be put forth in teaching and in organization the baser human nature continually reasserted itself, and many who had taken the vows of Christianity fell away. Some yielded to the grosser vices, others gave way only in the presence of imminent peril of life, or to physical torture, in the persecutions. Discipline therefore became necessary at a very early period in the history of the church. That this would be so was foreseen by our Lord Himself when, for instance, He gave specific directions as to the method of procedure in Matt. 18: 16, 17.

It had been customary among the Jews to excommunicate those who had been guilty of serious offenses. This custom was adopted by the Christians. Those who had been excommunicated or excluded could be restored to fellowship through penance, which was followed by absolution. Penance was usually public, extending over years, and consisted of fasting, prayers, and entreaties that the clergy and the faithful would intercede for the penitent. The scale was graduated

according to the nature of the offense which had brought disgrace upon the church.

An unfortunate distinction between "venial" and "mortal" sins began to be made, and in dealing with cases of "mortal" sin differences arose which led to numerous schisms. The most important of these were: the schism of Felicissimus of Carthage; the Novatian schism; and the Donatist schism, which arose at the opening of the next period.

The Donatists, in addition to their disciplinary rigor, unduly exalted martyrdom, so that many Christians sought it from purely fanatical motives.

E. DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS AND CONTROVERSIES

Progress in Doctrine

The advance in doctrinal ideas on fundamental questions is considerable. It is to be observed that along with the classification of central principles there appear also the beginnings of numerous errors which are to continue their growth until they almost destroy the spirituality of the church, and they are only to be checked by the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

Among these developments our first interest is in the doctrine of God, since this is basal to all the rest. It was generally believed that the existence of God is established by an intuition which vaguely exists in every human mind. This intuition is verified and clarified by experience which is seen in the adaptation of means to ends. God is the primal and only original essence, and by Him the universe was created out of nothing. He exercises general and particular providence over all the created universe, material and spiritual.

Our second interest is in the doctrine of man. God

created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him. With the exception of Tertullian, who was a traducianist, it was generally believed that the soul was created by an immediate act of God, and that it was incorporeal. Notwithstanding the general and special providence of God the freedom of the will was never questioned, and in some cases extreme views of freedom were held. There were various views as to the source of immortality, but that it is a fact all agreed. Through the free choice of Adam the human race fell and sin became a universal fact; and all men had at least a bias toward sin. This bent is emphasized more or less strongly by the different Church Fathers. The need of a Saviour was admitted by all.

Our third interest is in the doctrine of Christ. Although the Trinitarian controversy belongs to the next period, it is foreshadowed here. The great doctrines of pre-existence, exaltation, and incarnation are clearly indicated. Distinctions in the Godhead were strongly maintained and strongly opposed. Out of the opposition arose the different forms of Monarchianism of which Sabellius was the chief representative. The Holy Spirit was regarded as a distinct personality.

The later Christological discussions are hardly anticipated here, but the sinlessness and supernatural birth of the Lord are not questioned.

The great fact is the mediatorial and redeeming work of Christ which came through His suffering and death. Salvation comes through faith in Him and obedience to His will.

"Yet we have to record an early and increasing departure from the conception of the life-giving faith which is presented by the Apostle Paul, and the

gradual incoming of a more legal spirit. This appears in the distinction between the criminality of sins before and after baptism; the idea of satisfaction to be rendered by the offender, if a communicant; the attaching of merit to good works, such as alms-giving; the notion of works of supererogation, when not only the *commands* of the Gospel are obeyed, but *recommendations*, among which virginity was reckoned, are complied with; and, finally, in a tendency to convert faith into a credence given to facts and doctrines, instead of a self-surrender to God and to Christ" (**Fisher:** *H. C. C.*, p. 83).

We learn, too, from Cyprian and others that there is no salvation beyond the pale of the visible church. Baptism becomes identical with regeneration, and the Lord's Supper begins to be considered as "having an efficacious influence on the body and spirit of the recipient." Millennial ideas are widespread.

A fourth point of general interest is the doctrine of angels and demons. That the universe was peopled with "angelic spirits" was the common belief. They were God's messengers; they were the guardians of nations and of individuals. There were also evil spirits, the ministers of Satan, and to their agency all sorts of physical and moral evils were ascribed.

Doctrinal Controversies

The exhortation had been given earnestly to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints (Jude 3). This was a prophecy, for the greatest difficulties of the early church were by no means confined to the persecutions. Indeed, perils far more serious arose partially within its own body. To thoughtful and truth-seeking Jews and heathens there was very much

in the life and teachings of Christ and the Apostles, as also in the lives of the Christians, that satisfied their longings. Many of them went over to Christianity, but carried with them much of their former doctrine. Others proposed to hold fast the essential principles of their own religious and philosophical systems, but to incorporate such Christian elements as they could assimilate. Thus there originated between Christianity on one side and Judaism and paganism on two other sides a common ground. But the systems themselves remained radically different. The controversies that arose from this syncretistic situation stirred the church to its profoundest depths and called forth some of the masterpieces of early Christian literature.

The sources of these dangerous errors were: lingering Judaism, but primarily and most important of all, Greek speculation, and secondarily various forms of oriental mysticism.

These doctrinal aberrations are classified as follows:

a. Ebionism

Any system that has been long established and that has been an essential stage in the world's progress is sure to have great tenacity of life. Its central notion may be expected to reappear again and again, and in different form, years after the mission of the system has been fulfilled and the system itself has decayed. It was so in the case of Judaism. Many of the Jews could not give up the idea that the law of Moses was equal to the doctrine of Christ as a source of spiritual power. They were thus led to limit His divinity and His omnipotence, while showing high regard for His conspicuous merits and the great dignity of His office. We accordingly have several sects placing varying

emphasis upon the law of Moses, which is the common bond uniting them all. The principal ones of these sects are the Elkesites, the Nazarenes, and the Ebionites.

As we have already seen, the Ebionites refused to give up the Old Testament ceremonial observances. They have been divided into:

1. The Moderate Ebionites

They are characterized by a looseness of conception. While they clung to the ancient ceremonies, they were charitable to all Gentile believers.

2. The Rigid Ebionites

They would have nothing to do with Gentile believers. Of the Gospels they used only a form of Matthew. In their doctrine of Christ they recognized Him as a prophet, as a promulgator of a more rigid form of the law, as having received His higher powers at His baptism, as having been naturally born. They made little of His sufferings and death.

As Ebionism was already an obsolescent system, its opposition to Christianity could not be very dangerous.

b. Gnosticism

1. The Origin of Gnosticism

It would be difficult to believe that the splendid manifestations of mind as seen in the philosophy, the literature, and the art of the Greeks had bloomed and matured to no divinely ordained end; that they were not predestined to become potent agencies in the higher spiritual development of man. It would be more difficult still to believe that the perfect religion when it should come would ignore all that earnest and

able men had done through ages of struggle toward the light; that it would not, in fact, show the deepest and most positive interest in these conceptions and utilize them in its conquest of the world. That Christianity is hospitable to all truth in all ages and in all the activities of life has already been urged.

It is in a situation like this that we find the origin of Gnosticism. The world has been seeking for an explanation of the antithesis between matter and spirit; of the ceaseless conflict between good and evil; and the search has reached its acme of intensity just now in the second century. Christianity has offered satisfaction through faith, whose results are seen in good works and pure and happy lives; but the world demands an explanation through knowledge. Christianity solves the problem practically; the world wants it solved theoretically. Christianity is not averse to rational explanation just as far as the intellect can reach. Whatever has been worked out from representative facts taken from all the spheres of existence, and according to logical and psychological laws, is and must ever be gratefully recognized by Christianity as an indispensable means of its advancement. But when the intellect has done its utmost there is always an infinite region whose benevolence and rationality must be left to faith. But the world tends always to reject faith and, in relying exclusively on intellect and knowledge, puts too great a strain upon its thinking powers, breaks down and wanders off into the most contradictory positions and vagaries.

Now as we remember the limitations of the human mind, Christian as well as pagan, we are not surprised that when it comes to the practical application of Christian principles to life in all its intricate phases

there should be a tangle such as we find in Gnosticism. That Christian apologists, in their revulsion from the horrors of pagan immorality, and in their zeal for the propagation of the Good News, should overlook the elements of worth in heathenism; that the more earnest and better-educated pagans, seeing the fruits of the Christian faith, should, in differing degrees, adopt it and seek to reduce it to knowledge; that many Christians, inclined by nature to speculation, should be captured by intellectual or mystical explanations of the faith; that others should be dominated by an intellectual pride unworthy the true and earnest seeker after truth—all this is in strictest harmony with laws well understood by every genuine student of history. But while the results of man's limitations are so sadly evident, we have, nevertheless, in Gnosticism, the seething that finally settles into the definite course that theological thought is to pursue.

2. *The Gnostic Systems*

From the data given in the preceding section we may infer that: "Gnosticism is the comprehensive name used to embrace a large number of widely ramified sects on the borderland between Christianity and heathen thought which flourished in the second century."*

Gnosticism had its beginnings in New Testament times, its flourishing period was the second century; in the third it begins to decline, and by the sixth century scarcely a trace of it is to be found.

Gnosticism took many forms which cannot be enumerated, but there were some common character-

*See Art. "Gnosticism," in **Hastings'** *Dict. Bib.*

istics which historians have found in most of them. Among these we note:

1st. Dualism. It believed in one supreme God, dwelling from eternity in the *Pleroma*, or fulness of light, as eternally opposed to matter, which is eternal, and is the *Kenoma*, or emptiness. Matter is essentially evil.

2d. Emanation. God or the Supreme Spirit reaches matter through a succession of aeons or emanations.

3d. The Demiurge. The lowest of these aeons is the Demiurge who constructs the universe out of matter. Spirit thus becomes imprisoned in matter. The soul of man is imprisoned in his body.

4th. Redemption. Christ, the highest aeon, emanated from God, and liberated man's spirit from matter.

5th. Docetism. Since matter is evil, and since the contact of spirit with matter is contamination, Christ could not have a human body. Consequently His sufferings and death on the cross were only in appearance.

6th. Gnosticism was aristocratic. It claimed a degree of enlightenment to which the vulgar could not attain.

7th. Gnosticism was generally opposed to Judaism.

It was generally believed among the Church Fathers that Simon Magus, who was believed to be "that power of God which is called great," was the first Gnostic. Cerinthus was a contemporary of the Apostle John, and made no end of trouble among the saints at Ephesus. There are numerous passages in the New Testament indicating the prevalence of Gnostic ideas.*

Basilides, who flourished in Alexandria from 120-130, represents an advance in theoretic completeness,

*See **Hastings:** *Dict. Bib.*, Art. "Gnosticism."

which reaches its highest point in Valentinus, an Alexandrian, who flourished in Rome about 140-167. From him we get most of our impressions of Gnosticism. His account of the creation, the structure, and the development, of the universe is, to say the least, extremely fascinating. Its main features have been concisely stated as follows: "The relation between the Absolute Being and the universe is explained by the emanation from the Absolute of aeons in pairs, male and female. These aeons by marriage (syzygy) produce other aeons until thirty aeons are produced, which reside within the *Pleroma.* The last female aeon, Sophia (wisdom), impelled by a desire for knowledge, comes without the *Pleroma.* She calls upon the Christ,who rescues her. There is produced another offspring, the material universe. By the restoration of Sophia the animal universe is produced; by her joy on being restored is further produced the spiritual universe. From the animal substance is created the Demiurge, who creates the world."*

Marcion, a native of Pontus, flourished about 140. He is usually classified among the Gnostics, although on many points he differed widely from them. He was one of the most dangerous of the Gnostics. He represented the extreme of opposition to Judaism, and took Paul for his model.

℗ 3. *The Results of Gnosticism*

From the facts already given we are prepared to learn that the effects of Gnosticism were both bad and good. If we look for the bad effects we find them: first, in the realm of ethics. Matter was the source of evil. One party sought to "suppress and uproot the

*See **Stearns**: *Manual of Patrol.*, p. 153.

sensuous." This led to the strictest asceticism. Another party claimed that the way to overcome sensuality was to indulge in it. This led to libertinism, which was sometimes carried to the greatest extremes. In this manner "both Gnostic asceticism and Gnostic laxity found their way into the church, and corrupted the pure springs of Christian morality."

Second. Redemption consisted in mere knowledge. This lead to intellectual pride. Redemption was only for a select few. This aristocracy perished in the presence of the humility and universality of Christianity.

Third. It was unhistorical. Instead of founding itself upon solid fact it gave way to mysticism and allegory.

But we are not to overlook the compensations that come from this severe stress through which the church had to pass.

The Gnostics were the first theologians. They attempted to reduce religion to a comprehensive and harmonious system. The Christians were often put to desperate straits, but out of the conflict came clear thought and definite statements of the great fundamental truths of the Gospel. In a word, from the impulse which the Gnostics gave came the beginnings of scientific theology. As accompaniments of this we can say:

1st. Christianity came to the front and Judaism fell to the rear.

2d. Art and literature were recognized and used as powerful instruments which could be effectively employed in the interests of the church.

The net result of this mighty and perilous conflict was to the marked advantage of Christianity.

The student should consult:

Irenaeus: *Against Heresies.*
Mansel: *Gnostic Heresies.*
Harnack: *Hist. Dogma.* Vol. I, pp. 222-286.
Schaff: *H. C. C.* Vol. II, pp. 442-508.

c. Manichaeism

Manichaeism arose in the third century in the eastern part of the empire. It has so many marks in common with Gnosticism that many historians classify it as a form of that error. But it came from the farther east, and did not originate in vital connection with Christianity. It absorbed its Christian elements only as it moved westward, and in the net result was far less Christian in its essence. It is consequently much more of an independent and rival religion than Gnosticism.

The founder of Manichaeism was Mani, a member of a distinguished Magian family. He traveled extensively in the east; was learned and eloquent; acquired a wide influence; was flayed alive in Persia, and his skin was stuffed and put on exhibition at Gundeshafer as a warning.

Mani's problem was the problem of all the ages—the conflict of good and evil. What is its origin? What is its solution? Let us notice:

1. The Doctrines of Mani

1st, Creation. Originally there were two eternal principles—one of light, the other of darkness. In the long conflict between these principles a portion of the light became imprisoned in the darkness. In order to retain this light the power of darkness created man in whom darkness and light were combined. Man, then,

from the beginning was the victim of two utterly antagonistic principles which struggled within him for the mastery.

2d. Redemption. To relieve this deplorable situation Christ came in a seeming body—the *Jesus patibilis*, who suffered a seeming death. This Christ was to draw all the particles of light to himself. The office of the Holy Spirit, or Paraclete, is filled by Mani.

3d. Ethics. It follows from the extreme dualism of the system that Manichaeism will reach the extreme of asceticism. Matter is entirely bad and the soul must be entirely free. There were two classes, the elect and the auditors. The highest morality is required of the elect, whose moral code is summarized in three seals, as follows:

1st. The seal of the mouth, into which no evil thing, such as animal food, is to pass, or out of which no impure word is to come.

2d. The seal of the hands which are to do no evil deeds—such as are found in material or industrial pursuits.

3d. The seal of the bosom, which forbids all sensuous gratification.

This high standard was not attained by all of the elect, and many of the auditors fell to low depths of sensuality.

2. The Organization of Manichaeism

This was very complete. Mani and his successors stood at the head of twelve apostles and seventy-two bishops and a priesthood, thus following a Christian model. Only the elect were required to keep the three seals. The hearers were allowed to engage in the ordinary activities of life.

3. The Extent of Manichaean Influence

This was very wide both in the east and in the west—including Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, Gaul, Italy, and Spain. In spite of cruel persecutions it was long lived. In the time of Augustine it was able to capture the great African as an auditor and hold him for years. After he became convinced of its essential errors, he gave much of his best energy to its refutation. It continued to have influence until late in the Middle Ages.

Literary and Philosophical Attacks on Christianity

Ebionism, Gnosticism, and Manichaeism were all in more or less vital connection with Christianity, and they were dangerous just because of this connection. No enemies are so much to be dreaded as those within one's own household, or as those who can claim kinship.

We are now to consider some of the assaults that were made upon the new religion entirely from the outside. These attacks came from literature and philosophy. Stoicism was the dominant philosophy, during the first two centuries. It had many distinguished and illustrious followers, among whom were Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. The ethics of Stoicism was pure and austere. The Stoics were hostile to Christianity because they did not understand it, and because they thought it injurious to society and the state. Their opposition was earnest and direct, but it was not difficult to overcome.

But there were other forms of opposition that were extremely serious, and that called for the best effort that Christian thought could put forth. We notice:

a. The Skeptics

They were of a class whose lineage runs back as far as Pyrrho in the fourth century, B. C. Their method was ridicule, and their attacks were serious. The Skeptics had ridiculed the religions of paganism, and now they turn upon Christianity. Two of these Skeptics should have special notice. They are:

1st. Lucian of Samosata. He flourished in the second century. He had a sharp critical mind that detected every flaw and every imperfection, and so by nature he found it impossible to be reverent or to have any sympathy with the higher realms of human life. He was satirical, scornful, and gifted with a richly inventive fancy. He regarded Christ as a crucified sophist, and the Christians as a "well meaning but silly people," and all their most characteristic merits as but evidences of superstition. "They persuade themselves that they are all brethren." Lucian was a prolific author, and because of their striking literary merits his works have been translated into many languages.

2d. Celsus. He was a contemporary of Lucian. They are known to have been friends. But Celsus had far greater ability. He seems to have mastered the entire field of human knowledge and to have combined all the strength he could gather from every source in expressing his hatred of Christianity. His book was entitled *A True Discourse*. He had thoroughly studied Judaism and Christianity, but as always happens when men study without sympathy, he missed the essential meaning of the subject, and the result was, upon the whole, a dismal failure. His book was especially aimed at the divinity of Christ, His virgin birth, His miracles and resurrection. He rejected

Christ as an impostor, and if Christianity contained any merits they were not original with it, but were all borrowed from the world and existed before it came. Historians are quite unanimous in the opinion that skepticism has not advanced any argument against Christianity that cannot be found in some form in the *True Discourse* of **Celsus.** The book has perished, but Origen, in his famous reply, has made such numerous and extensive quotations that we probably have the substance of it.

(b) *Neoplatonism*

The whole history of philosophy is the story of man's effort to explain the riddle of the universe. Philosophy had already done its best when the Saviour appeared. By the opening of the third century the Gospel was sending a thrill of new life all through the empire. Its uplifting ideas; the unapproachable character of its Founder; and its fruits as seen in the superior lives of its followers, had created a profound impression.

Philosophy as represented by Stoicism and Epicureanism was unable to show any such results. But enriched, stimulated, provoked by Christianity, philosophy was to make one more desperate attempt to solve the problem. In the past it had rendered the new religion an invaluable service, by showing the fatal weakness of polytheism, but now it begins to realize that it is working to the advantage of this new religion which, in the end, is sure to prove a hard master. Thus aroused, and convinced that the traditional religions contain elements of truth that are foreign to Christianity, it ends by taking back what it has said, turning right about face, and seeking the annihilation of its new and powerful foe. It armed

itself with weapons from every source and took the form known as Neoplatonism. Its struggle with Christianity was brilliant and pathetic, but it represented the exhaustion of the ancient world, and its problems remained unsolved. It arose, matured, decayed, and died—bequeathing an inheritance; its formidable rival arose, matured, endured, and entered into the inheritance.

Let us notice:

1. The Origin and Development of Neoplatonism

The school seems to be foreshadowed in Philo. The fact that it originated in Alexandria, the very center of Christian and Gnostic activity, renders it almost certain that many of its ideas were borrowed from those sources. Ammonius Saccas, its reputed founder, was born of Christian parents, and it has been claimed that he never renounced Christianity. Among his disciples were Origen, the Christian, and Plotinus, the Neoplatonist—205-270.

The school of Plotinus was located at Rome, which was the common meeting place where all the ideas in the world jostled each other. This school was one of the most brilliant in history. Its pupils came from the ends of civilization. They represented the learned professions, the men and women of culture; and even the emperor, Gallienus, and the empress, Salonina, were members. For twenty-five years, beginning about 244, Plotinus was the leader of this splendid center of cultivated people. As Christianity had its Founder and leaders in the persons of Christ, the Apostles, and the martyrs, so Neoplatonism had its divine leaders in the persons of the Attic philosophers, whose works were studied as infallible guides.

Plotinus as head of this school, and as a prolific writer, became the real founder of Neoplatonism. The school is to be regarded as in its essence religious as opposed to scientific. It starts from a transcendental conception of God, from whom it develops the universe. The process is emanation and absorption. The world is an overflow from God and its ultimate goal is reabsorption into God. There are three stages in the process of overflow—spirituality, animality, and corporeality. There are also three stages in the process of reabsorption—sensible perception, reasoning, and mystical intuition.

In the overflow there are three distinctions of being—intellect with its ideas; soul with its notions; body with its forms. Still below is pure formless matter or non-being.

It will be readily seen that the battles of practical life are to be fought in the soul. Above is the intellect with its higher attractions inspiring the soul to the intellectual life, to contemplation, apathy, and reabsorption, where it loses its individuality and reposes on the bosom of God. Below is the body enticing the soul to the base life in matter. The yielding of the soul constitutes the fall. The soul is free, and so determines its own fate—the choice will be determined by the character of the soul. It chooses what it *desires.*

Corresponding to the three stages of reabsorption are three concrete manifestations: 1st. Art, which is sensuous—and the lowest stage. 2d. Love, which seeks a return to God in the human soul. 3d. Philosophy, which is the highest and the truest. The soul that has once experienced this exalted sphere cares nothing farther for art and love.

The work of Plotinus was carried on by his distinguished pupil, Porphyry (233-300). Plotinus had written fifty-four works of various lengths, and he requested Porphyry to arrange them. Porphyry made six divisions of nine parts—and the work was known as the *Enneads*. He advances upon his master in several respects. He is more practical; he finds the origin of sin in the desires of the soul rather than in the body; he is more disturbed by the immoralities found in many of the popular religions,and sounds the note of warning, and on the whole becomes more rigidly ascetic. But his hostility to Christianity did not abate. His attack was one of the most dangerous of all those coming from the outside. He assailed the Scriptures and endeavored to show that they were not worthy the inspiration claimed for them.

In him Neoplatonism already begins to decline. In its conflicts with Christianity it is drawn more and more to polytheism, and at last drops into the most disorderly and unaccountable vagaries. But in the midst of the general decline two men of extraordinary brilliancy stand forth:

Jamblicus (330) the Caelosyrian, and Proclus of Byzantium (412-485) who taught at Athens. "Proclus looks upon the *practice of magic* as the essence of religion; for Plato, religion meant the *practice f justice*. There is as great a difference between these two conceptions, as between mature, enlightened and vigorous manhood, and decrepit and supersitious old age" (**Weber**, p. 183).

Early in the sixth century Neoplatonism, as a system, ceased to exist. Why could it not, as a rival religion, compete with Christianity? We find the best answer in the *Confessions of Augustine* (Bk. VII.,

18-21). It is summarized by **Harnack** as follows: "First and above all it lacked a religious founder; secondly, it was unable to give any answer to the question how one could permanently maintain the mood of blessedness and peace; it lacked the means of winning those who could not speculate" (*Hist. of Dogma*, Vol. I., p. 344).

2. *The Influence of Neoplatonism*

As we have already indicated, in its great conflict with Christianity, Neoplatonism seemed to have a lost cause from the beginning. It had much in common with its rival from the start. The Neoplatonists accused the Christians of getting their ideas from philosophy, and the Christians accused the Neoplatonists of stealing all theirs from Christianity. They both aimed to solve the riddle of existence, and so had a common problem. They agreed that matter was not necessarily evil, and that spirit might come into contact with matter without contamination. They both advocated a lofty and pure morality. That either of them, therefore, could have vanquished the other without gaining much from the vanquished, is impossible. What then are some of the influences that Neoplatonism has had upon the world and upon Christian thought?

1st. It bequeathed to all succeeding ages "a frame of mind," namely, that "the blessedness which can alone satisfy man is to be found somewhere else than in the sphere of knowledge." Neoplatonism did not afford this satisfaction, but it left the desire to burn steadily as long as the human race shall exist upon the earth.

2d. It has been said that Neoplatonism was to many

minds a "school master to bring them to Christ, for it changed the whole character of ancient philosophy." The most notable example is the case of Augustine. By its aid he escaped from Manichaeism, and in many of the fundamental ideas of his theology he remained dependent upon Neoplatonism, yet he was always clear on the essential differences between it and Christianity.

3d. Although Neoplatonism started out as religion in complete opposition to science it came to be in the Middle Ages the source from which science developed itself. "Magic, astrology, alchemy, all of which were closely connected with Neoplatonism, gave an effectual impulse to the observation of nature, and consequently to natural science, and finally prevailed over barren and formal rationalism. . . . In point of fact actual history is often more wonderful and capricious than legends and fables."

LITERATURE

Harnack: *Hist. of Dogma.* Vol. I, pp. 336-364.

Weber: *Hist. of Phil.*, pp. 167-184.

Schaff: *H. C. C.* Vol. II, pp. 95-104.

Inge: *Am. Jour. Theol.* Vol. IV, pp. 328-344. "The Permanent Influence of Neoplatonism upon Christianity."

(F.) CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND LITERATURE

In the stress of controversy the Christians found it of the utmost urgency so to marshal their forces as to make them count for the most possible. This necessity led to a great development of thought and literature. If there are any documents that are authoritative the time has come when they should be singled out and arranged in some kind of order. This leads us to notice:

The New Testament Canon

The Old Testament had come down from the Jews and was accepted by Christians. It served as a model in the growth of the New Testament Canon. This Canon was a gradual formation beginning in apostolic times and extending into the fourth century. As errors arose within the church and as powerful enemies attacked it from without, an exact distinction between the inspired and the uninspired writings had to be made in order that Christians might have a reliable standard of appeal. It seems certain, therefore, that the stress of the first three centuries was an important influence in the formation of the New Testament Canon.*

The Church Fathers †

It has been truly said that in history we occasionally have clusters of great men. Instances are cited, as the Greek tragedians, the Greek philosophers, and the Church Fathers. It has been laid to the charge of the Church Fathers that they are responsible for all the subsequent troubles of the church. History, however, shows that they were confronted by problems upon whose immediate, if not ultimate, solution depended the existence of the Christian faith. They were often narrow in their conceptions and intolerant

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*See **Ryle**: *The Canon of the Old Testament.* **Westcott**: *General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament.* **Wynne**: "Gradual Growth of the New Testament Canon," in the volume, *The Literature of the Second Century.* **Hastings**: *Dict. of Bible*, Arts. "Canon"; "Old Testament Canon"; and "New Testament Canon."

†See, for the Fathers, the translations published by the Christian Literature Pub. Co. Also **Farrar's** *Lives of the Fathers.*

toward their opponents, and wrong in their conclusions. Nevertheless, they did the best that in them lay, and every fair-minded student must admit the magnitude of the service they rendered. If succeeding centuries were so unwise as to take their deliverances for finalities—making a "thus saith a Father" of equal authority with a "thus saith the Lord," the blame can hardly be laid to the Fathers, who served their day and generation with such light as they could get. The blame rather attaches to those later generations who should have remembered that, while absolute truth never varies, each age has its own point of view with its own problems to solve, and that its duty is to see and use all the results that have been obtained, and with this backing to push on to the discharge of its own immediate obligations. As soon as their point of view and their special environments are understood the wonder is not that the Fathers did so poorly but that they did so well.

By the Church Fathers we usually understand the great Christian writers of the first six centuries. Some of them were not men of much originality or intellectual ability, but they were, nevertheless, of marked individuality. Others were the intellectual peers of the greatest secular thinkers of all ages, and exercised tremendous influence on thought. Such men were Origen and Augustine.

The Church Fathers are ordinarily grouped into the Ante-Nicene, the Nicene, and the Post-Nicene Fathers—as they lived before, during, or after the great controversy that was settled at Nicaea in 325.

The geographical distribution of the Fathers was very wide. Their environments were very different. In their mental constitutions there was the

greatest diversity. In view of these facts, therefore, we are prepared to hear the discussion of a very wide range of problems from very many points of view. We do not look for agreement at all points; when we remember that the Fathers were only men, we understand perfectly well that in the times of severe testing, the saints will not prove to be altogether saintly.

Among the Ante-Nicene Fathers the groups are commonly arranged as follows:

a. The Apostolic Fathers

This term is applied to those Fathers who are supposed to have had some personal connection with one or more of the Apostles. But it was given to some of whom this cannot be affirmed with certainty. There can be but little doubt as to Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Polycarp. They were not men of strong intellectuality, but they were characterized by deep earnestness. Perhaps their very proximity to the Apostles handicapped them, so that the most they could do was simply to repeat in a much weaker form what they had heard.

Important writings of this period are: *The Shepherd of Hermas*—the *Pilgrim's Progress* of the age; *The Epistle to Diognetus; The Fragments of Papias; The Epistle of Barnabas; The Second Clement;* and *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*

b. The Apologists

An apology in religious literature is a defense of Christianity, and those who have written such defenses are called Apologists. Most of the Apologists embraced Christianity late in life. They had been philosophers and statesmen, and had been unable to find rest and

satisfaction for the deepest needs of their souls in their special pursuits. They did find this satisfaction in Christianity. Being, therefore, conscious of the sufficiency and reasonableness of the Gospel, and of the injustice of the charges made against the Christians, they were induced to write defenses of the new religion. Some of these arguments were addressed to emperors, some to the heathen in general, and some to the Jews.

The great Apologists were:

1. Justin Martyr

Three of his works are as follows:

First Apology, addressed to Antoninus Pius, 188; Second Apology, addressed to Marcus Aurelius, 161; Third, The Dialogue with Trypho—to the Jews.

2. Melito—Bishop of Sardis

Apology, addressed to Marcus Aurelius. c. 170.

Eusebius mentions eighteen works of his.

3. Tatian of Assyria

Discourses to the Greeks; Diatesseron—"According to the Four." He afterwards became a Gnostic.

4 Athenagoras

"Embassy Concerning the Christians"—addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. c. 177.

5. Theophilus—Bishop of Antioch

6. Minucius Felix

A Latin writer. "Octavius"—a dialogue between a Christian and a heathen.

c. Polemics

The Apologists were engaged in explaining and defending the positions of the church from outside

attacks. But we have seen the most dangerous foes arising in organic connection with the church—as Ebionism and Gnosticism. The peril was met by two men who were Greek by education, but whose work was done in the west.

1. Irenaeus—Bishop of Lyons (177-202)

He was a pupil of Polycarp,through whom he caught the spirit of John. He settled in southern Gaul, and was bishop of Lyons in the time of the persecutions by Marcus Aurelius. His chief work was: *Against Heresies.* This work is our principal source of information concerning the Gnostics.

2. Hippolytus

He was born at Rome of Greek-speaking parents. He was a pupil of Irenaeus, c. 200, and bishop of Portus near Rome. His chief work was entitled: *Refutation of All Heresies.*

d. The Alexandrian School

Alexandria had long been one of the greatest centers of literary activity. All the conditions were such as to make it so. Oriental, Jew, Greek and Christian met there. The libraries were extensive; the professors were very distinguished; the students were numerous and eager. That Christianity should stand aloof and see nothing good in Greek culture was out of the question. The very nature of Christianity with its infinite reach of sympathy and its infinite capacity to assimilate all truth was such as to lead it into living connection with all that was good in every thought and every act of man. Jewish and Greek thought had met in Philo. The Gospel had gone to Alexandria

very early. Tradition makes Mark the founder of the catechetical school. Philosophers were converted and at once found their systems serviceable in putting the faith into a rational and systematic form, and the inevitable event was a combination of Christianity with Greek thought. It was foreordained that Alexandria should be the center in which Christianity should have its highest intellectual development. The three great men in the Ante-Nicene period were:

1. Pantaenus

He was a convert from the Stoic philosophy, and began his work about 180.

2. Clement

He was probably born at Athens, and was educated in the heathen schools. He was converted to Christianity and succeeded Pantaenus about 199.

His great works are: *The Exhortation to the Greeks; The Educator;* and *The Stromata.*

3. Origen (185-253)

Origen was born of Christian parents. He was an intellectual prodigy, and at the same time a man of deep earnestness and spirituality. He had mastered the entire realm of literature. From his persistent industry he was called the Adamantine. His large conceptions and his wide sympathies not only led him to see many sides of truth, but led him also into numerous errors. As his influence extended he became the object of suspicion, and was finally branded as a heretic. It became necessary for him to seek another field of labor, and so, in 231, he went to Caesarea, in Palestine, which became the scene of his remaining labors. In 250 he was a victim of the Decian persecu-

tion, was imprisoned and tortured, and died shortly after his release from the effects of his persecutions.

The reports of the productions from his pen seem incredible. According to Jerome he wrote more than most men can read in a lifetime. It is said that his writings amounted to six thousand volumes. Some have thought this a clerical error for six hundred; others, inclined to accept the statement, would include all his pamphlets, tracts, letters and homilies as separate volumes.

Origen is important from nearly all points of view. He is the best and completest expression of the Alexandrian theology, whose supreme end was the reconciliation of Faith and Knowledge. The basis of such a reconciliation must be the Bible, and the interpretation of the Bible as formulated in Christian doctrines. Reason and truth meet in the *Logos*.

That thirteen or fourteen years should have been devoted to the study of the text of the Old Testament is, therefore, not in the least surprising. The result was the *Hexapla*, the name being derived from the six columns in which it was written. His purpose seems to have been to put all the available material within reach of his students, and not to determine the true text of the Old Testament—a thing quite impossible for the scholarship of that time.

But Origen's mind was essentially constructive. He could not rest simply in the Faith. He must have the Faith rationalized and systematized. The result is seen in his *First Principles*—"the first attempt at a systematic explanation of Christian doctrine." This remarkable work is divided into four books: "God and Creation"; "Creation and Providence"; "Man and Redemption"; and the "Holy Scriptures."

The student of the *First Principles* will be impressed with the fact,that many of our modern problems had been seriously pondered by Origen—and that in many particulars we have not passed far beyond him.

In his *Eight Books Against Celsus* we have the best that the age could bring against the fierce antagonists of Christianity. Origen was often hard put to it, but his reply will always command the highest respect.

As an interpreter of Scripture Origen was voluminous. He commented at great length on every book of Scripture. An example is given in his thirty-two books on about half of John's Gospel.

His method was not only literal, but moral and allegorical, and this last method led him and his followers into the wildest vagaries.

These facts strongly suggest that Origen still has great lessons for the Christian world. It has never been so evident as at the present moment that a Christianity limited in its scope has no chance for success. It must include mind and intellect, heart and spirit—indeed the entire man. It must also include all man's doings as they are found in history and society, and all the sciences that have developed out of the physical universe. In some way or other it must be believed that the Incarnation is the key to it all. As it does this it may hope to control in the truest sense the world's thinking, and realize its matchless ideals in the lives of men.*

e. *The North African Fathers*

The early fathers in the western church,as Clement of Rome, Irenaeus and Hippolytus,were Greek either

*On the Alexandrians, see **Bigg**: *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria.* **Fairweather:** *Origen and Greek Patristic Theology.*

by birth or by language. It was not in Rome, but in North Africa on the territory of ancient Carthage, that a Latin Christian literature first sprang up. It was here, too, that legal conceptions arose to prominence in theology, and greatly influenced its statements. This resulted from the fact that the two great Ante-Nicene Fathers of the western church were lawyers. They were:

1. Tertullian (160-220 or 240)

He was converted from a dissolute life sometime after his thirtieth year. Tertullian did nothing by halves, and as soon as he was converted he threw all the energy of his fiery nature into the defense of Christianity. Unlike Origen, he had little sympathy with philosophical speculations in religious matters, and some of his strongest utterances were against the philosophers. He became an ardent champion of Montanism.

2. Cyprian (220-258)

Born of wealthy heathen parents, Cyprian chose the legal profession and through it became a teacher of rhetoric. He was converted at about the age of forty-six—and two years later was made a bishop. The twelve years of his Christian life were devoted to administration, for which he was specially gifted by nature. He called Tertullian his master, and yet differed from him in almost every respect. He was far more tactful in dealing with men—Christian and heathen alike, and in his style he was polished where Tertullian was harsh.*

In Tertullian and Cyprian we see a striking mani-

*See Benson's *Cyprian*,

festation of the practical spirit that characterized the west.

Doubtful and Spurious Writings

In their zeal for the cause, many of the Christians of the second and third centuries allowed themselves to be consumed. They grasped at everything that they thought could render them a service—and were led to adopt and defend positions that were partly or entirely false. Among these are found many doubtful and spurious productions as: *The Sibylline Oracles; The Pseudo-Clementines; The Apostolic Constitutions; The Five Decretal Letters.*

Martyrologies

The memory of the great deeds and sufferings of the Apostles lingered on and was a mighty inspiration to the centuries immediately succeeding. But it also came about that individual churches developed numerous heroes who calmly faced the civil powers or the rabble, and died without flinching. This led to the establishment of memorial days, and exercises at which the deeds of each particular hero were recounted. Through these celebrations all were renewed in spiritual power, and enabled the better to make their way in the conflict.

G. CHRISTIAN LIFE

But after all, the supreme test of a religion is found in its fruits as seen in the lives of its followers. At the close of the first century Christianity had not had time to show very marked results in the way of extensive transformations of character. Society was sub-

stantially heathen. It was still heartless, cruel, immoral, in a most deplorable and hopeless condition. What matters it whether one be an Ebionite, a Gnostic, a Manichaean, a Stoic, an Epicurean, a Neoplatonist or a Christian, if his religion, or his philosophy does not show itself in purity of personal character, in largeness of sympathy for all mankind, in activity for the relief of the ignorance and suffering of men? As we pass through the second and third centuries do we find any evidence that the great principles of the Master are taking root in the hearts of men; that the complexion of society is beginning to change from coarse, brutal features, or cynical, or stoical coldness, towards the warm, ruddy glow of pure and healthy life? What are the facts?*

The answer is that during this period the results of Christ's life and teachings were showing themselves in beautiful developments; in the private lives of individuals; in the growth of affection in the family circle—the relations of husband and wife, and parents and children; in the extension of this love to all members of the churches; and in the farther extension of this same love to the great masses of degraded and suffering humanity. And despite the cruel persecutions the influence of Christianity was rapidly spreading, and the complexion of society was changing. But all this of necessity led to a definite attitude of the Christians toward heathen society and many of its most cherished customs. Among these latter were the heathen sources of pleasure—the theater, the circus, the arena. Although they had formerly been connected with religion they had now degenerated into nurseries of vice,

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*See **Schaff**: *H. C. C.*, Vol. II, pp. 311-386.

brutality and cruelty. The historian who has read deeply into the society of this period can at least appreciate, if he does not fully approve, the general attitude of the church toward amusements. It seemed useless to think of any moral or spiritual reformation of the world as long as the whole thought and talk of the people were centered in these things which in themselves were so essentially debasing.

The position of the church on slavery developed slowly but surely. There could be no doubt as to what the position would be when it was once clearly made out. The relations between master and slave were at once ameliorated among Christians. Clement of Alexandria voiced a sentiment when he said that "slaves are men like ourselves," and there are many such evidences that the distinctions in classes are breaking down. But it does not yet appear that the institution of slavery as such was distinctly condemned.

In drawing the line sharply between heathen customs requiring a sacrifice and compromise of the faith, the Christians sometimes went too far. They forgot for instance the instruction of the Apostle when he said: "Let each man abide in the calling wherein he was called" (1 Cor. 7: 20).

The question arose as to whether a Christian could engage in war. It was energetically debated—and Scripture was quoted on both sides. Again: Ought a Christian to engage in politics? was another serious question. Their sense of other-worldliness was so strong that they were perhaps generally averse to practical political activity. This caused them to be regarded with contempt and often with suspicion by their heathen neighbors.

H. MONASTICISM

It is easy to see how those to whom the new light and joy had come in such abundance and satisfaction, in looking out upon a world so steeped in sin, would wish to withdraw from it entirely, and give themselves up to holy contemplation. And here they met one of their most dangerous temptations. Perhaps the hardest problem in life is found just here, and few there be that solve it perfectly. It is a very easy thing to give oneself up completely to the pleasures of life with all their allurements and fascinations. It is not so very difficult for the souls of finer mettle to withdraw entirely from the world, and give themselves up wholly to the higher joys of thought and contemplation. But to the true Christian neither of these extremes is possible. The world is not all bad—and, following the example of our Lord Himself, it was intended that we should enjoy the world in the numerous ways that are wide open. Neither are thought and contemplation all good. They are really only good in the last analysis, as they are realized in practical every-day living in the world—among our fellow men, blessing and glorifying both them and ourselves.

It is in men's misguided efforts to solve this problem that we find the origin of asceticism—a disease not peculiar to Christianity but to humanity. Out of the ascetic spirit arose Monasticism.

The causes that led to Monasticism are:

(*Psychological*)

The deep desire planted in the soul to escape contamination is universal. This led many of the heathen to believe that matter and sense are essentially evil—and many of the Christians to the same conclusion.

Historical

The Christian beheld the universal corruption of society. He saw no hope of purifying it. Moreover the persecutions of Decius, and later of Maximinus, were raging. It seemed best to him, therefore, to save himself by withdrawing from the world, and giving himself up to meditation, and working at basket-making and small gardening. Besides he was probably influenced by the asceticism of the Gnostics, Manichaeans, and later Neoplatonists.

Christian Monasticism originated near the close of our period with Anthony, who was born of Christian parents at Coma, near the Thebaid, about 251. He lived more than a hundred years. That the Christians of this period were perfect would be far too much to claim. They were charged with untruthfulness and covetousness, theft, and sometimes adultery. In the persecutions large numbers lapsed.*

I. WORSHIP

The worship was simple. An excellent account is given by **Justin Martyr**, *Apology I.*, 65-67. "On Sunday a meeting is held of all who live in the cities and villages, and a section is read from the memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets, as long as the time permits. When the reading has finished, the president, in a discourse (or homily) gives the admonition and exhortation to imitate these noble things. After this we all arise and offer a common prayer. At the close of the prayer, as we have before described, bread and wine and water are brought. The president offers prayer and thanks for them

*See *Discipline.*

according to his ability, and the congregation answers —*Amen.* Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one and partaken of, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions according to their free will; and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, the poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want."

The service was greatly enriched by singing. The Old Testament Psalms and some portions of the New Testament were used. The composition of hymns had already begun, and in quality they were not only devotional but doctrinal.

Ignatius of Antioch is supposed to have introduced the Antiphon. The Antiphon was sung responsively by a double choir.

J. CHRISTIAN ART

The period of extensive church building only comes in with Constantine. During the Ante-Nicene period there was a strong feeling adverse to any artistic display. Both Justin Martyr and Origen rather took pride in answering the heathen taunts that the Christians had no temples by saying that their God was everywhere and could be worshiped anywhere—not being shut up within the narrow walls of temples. They were generally averse to sacred places and images. And yet there were numerous indications that the change that was soon to come was already beginning. The first meeting places were rooms in private houses, usually, perhaps, the dining halls, "which often had a semi-circular niche, like the choir in the later churches." The supper table became the

altar, and a raised place was added for the reading of scripture and the exhortation which followed.

But with the increasing numbers of communities it became necessary to have larger rooms. While in many, probably in most cases, rooms were rented, church building on the model of the Roman Basilica was begun, and so in the third century numerous buildings arose. One of these was the Church of Nicomedia, which overlooked the emperor's palace, and whose demolition inaugurated the Diocletian persecution.

After a while the clergy and laity were separated, and "the way was gradually prepared for the division into three, which emerges at the close of the period—viz.: a *forehall* for heathens, catechumens and penitents —the *nave* proper of the church for the believers, and the *raised part*—*βῆμα*, *ἄδυτον*, or *sanctuarium* with the apse in which are found the altar and the episcopal *cathedra*" (**Moeller**, *H. C. C.;* Vol. I., p. 279).

The architectural variations which were so fully developed in later ages can often be traced to this age.

Decoration, at first looked upon with decided disapproval, gradually appeared in the form of pictures and emblems. Among these are especially the *dove*, the *ship*, the *anchor*, the *fish*, the *lyre*.

The burial places of the ancient Christians afford a most interesting subject for study. The decision was very soon given in favor of interment instead of cremation which was common among the heathen, excepting the Greeks. The customs of the Jews, as also especially the burial of the Saviour, had a very large influence in establishing the customs of the Christians. Burials took place in caves, and in places

excavated in the sides of the hills. This custom followed out, led to the development of the catacombs which are subterranean passages, hundreds of miles in length. The most interesting and extensive ones are found in Rome. Those next in importance are at Naples, but they are also found at Milan, in Sicily, and at Alexandria in Africa.

The excavation of the catacombs has thrown a great flood of light upon many of the intricate problems of Christian archæology. The pioneer of excavation in our century is **De Rossi**, whose results are published in three volumes entitled *Roma Sotteranea Christiana.**

*See also **Parker:** *Archæology of Rome;* and *Handbook of Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, Vol. I, by H. M. & M. A. R. T.

CHAPTER III

FROM CONSTANTINE TO GREGORY I

(313–590)

The age of Constantine marks a great turning-point in history. Processes already begun are further developed. New relations and adjustments are established, and at the end of the sixth century we find that momentous changes have taken place. These changes are found in politics, in society, in literature, in art, and in nearly all features of religion. The period is one of the most intensely fascinating to the student of ideas and institutions in their early stages that history offers.

A. Church and State

LITERATURE

Dill: *Roman Society*. Covers the last century of the western empire. 2d ed.

A. POLITICS AND SOCIETY

The general policy of Diocletian was carried to its consummation by Constantine and his sons. But at best it could only afford temporary relief. The empire had done its work, and now it was dying of exhaustion. This exhaustion manifested itself in numerous forms, among which we may designate the economic and social as the most prominent. We have seen that the empire was too extensive and too

heterogeneous to be governed by one man from a single center, and not only so, but that it was steadily imperiled by the great cloud of barbarism that gathered and hung along the whole northern horizon.

To us it is evident that the establishment of four courts to take the place of one must enormously increase the taxes imposed on the provinces. The new administration consisted of prefectures, dioceses and provinces. In each of these divisions there was a large number of subordinates. These subordinates were lacking in wisdom and were utterly unscrupulous in their methods. The student of modern politics, with his knowledge of human nature, can easily understand what must have been the horrors of the situation. If, now, we remember that "parallel with Constantine's civil hierarchy of prefects, vicars, *praesides* and smaller officials was the series of military officers from the *Magistri Militum*, the *duces* and *comites* downwards," and that there was not at that time as in our own age any powerful and organized moral sentiment with methods of expressing itself effectively, it becomes very easy to appreciate still more fully the wretchedness of the people in the provinces.

Moreover, the third century had been cursed with men known as tyrants. "As in old Greece," says Freeman, "a tyrant meant a man who unlawfully seized on kingly power in a commonwealth, so now it meant a man who called himself emperor, but who was held not to have a lawful right to the title. . . . They were called tyrants if they did not succeed in getting the reigning emperor to recognize them as colleagues." These tyrants were by no means unknown in the fourth century, and they constituted another very serious disturbing element. We are thus led to see

how the civil power in its desperate efforts for self-preservation was destroying the sources of its power through its unstatesmanlike and conscienceless officials and the crushing burdens of taxation which it imposed upon its citizens.

The stress of the burden naturally fell upon the provinces, which suffered not only from this grievous extortion, but which were also the first to suffer from the incursions of the barbarians. As we have already said, this weakness of the imperial body manifests itself especially in economic and social forms. These forms of manifestation are so closely connected as almost to stand in the relation of cause and effect. "From all writers who deal with the fourth century comes the same tale of declining strength and energy. From Lactantius to Zosimus we have one long series of laments over the depression and misery of the provinces. To meet the increased expenditures necessary to maintain the legions, to pay the hosts of officials, and to keep up the luxurious splendors of the imperial courts, not only were the taxes raised in amount, but the most oppressive and iniquitous methods were adopted to secure for the imperial treasury every penny that could be wrung from the wretched taxpayers. The results are seen in such pictures as that which the panegyrist Eumenius draws of the state of Gaul (306-312) under Constantine, in the accounts of the same province under Julian fifty years later, in those given by Zosimus early in the fifth century, and in the stringent regulations of the Theodosian code dealing with the assessment and collection of the taxes. Among the graver symptoms of economic ruin were the decrease of population, which seriously diminished not only the number of the taxpayers, but

the supply of soldiers for the legions; the spread of infanticide; the increase of waste lands whose owners and cultivators had fled to escape the tax collectors; the declining prosperity of the towns; and the constantly recurring riots and insurrections, both among the starving peasants, as in Gaul, and in populous cities like Antioch" (**Pelham**: *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 565, 566).

In the meantime, while the provinces were in this most distressing condition, and while the empire, despite its vain efforts to maintain its organization, was rapidly losing its power, the barbarians were steadily encroaching upon the imperial territory, and growing wiser and more ambitious with every advance. The barriers gradually disappeared, the barbarians—Vandals, Goths, Franks—became the strong supports of different emperors. The empire is finally divided in 395 between Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius. The emperors count for less and less. The invasions of Alaric and Genseric come on apace. The barbarians gradually lay the foundations for vigorous young states; in 476 Romulus Augustulus retires, and the western division of the empire comes to an end; Odoacer, the chief of the barbarians, is installed as a ruler in Italy and the course of events has led to a momentous climax. Roman and barbarian have come together never again to separate. To the people of that time the period was one of appalling confusion—but it was only the confusion that is incident to all preparation for great issues. There is to be a combination of elements that have been widely separated in origin, but whose union is to be mutually supplementary—and to make modern civilization possible.

Italy was freed from direct imperial control, but the spirit of old Rome lived on and prevailed in language and in administration. But henceforth the civilization of the west is to be Romano-Germanic; the universal political dominion of Rome is to pass away, and instead we are to have separate states limited by natural ethnic and geographical boundaries; and as Christianity is universal in its adaptation to the needs of men, its extension and organization were greatly facilitated.

B. CHRISTIANITY

LITERATURE

Mehlhorn: *Aus der Quellen der Kirchengeschichte.* A collection of sources from the beginning to Charles the Great. Critically annotated. Of the first importance.

But as we have thus been rapidly sketching the political, social and economic developments in the dying empire, we have not forgotten the presence and influence through all these movements of a new principle that had come into the world almost contemporaneously with the empire. While the principles controlling the political and social theories were purely utilitarian and selfish, the new principle was love, sympathy, universality. Christianity and the empire then had grown up together. Christianity had been born within the infant imperial organization. It was a vital and aggressive principle. It sought to regenerate the empire and purify its life. It soon realized that it was weak while the empire was strong, and not only strong but hostile. But, as we have seen, the work of evangelization went steadily on surmounting all obstacles, and the situation was gradually

reversed. The days of persecution passed. Constantine was a sagacious statesman. He discerned the signs of his times. He saw clearly that heathenism was losing ground while Christianity was rapidly gaining. There could be no doubt as to the issue. Without condemning heathenism, he recognized Christianity as a legal religion that was to be protected. This step was the beginning of what was to become the union of church and state. And so as the empire learned from Christianity and ultimately embraced it, Christianity for its weal and for its woe learned from the empire. As the empire weakened and went to pieces from moral, political and economic causes, Christianity grew strong and ambitious; became worldly, political and immoral. The facts as we proceed will abundantly prove the truth of these statements.

Constantine was, to say the least, far from being an ideal Christian. He believed sincerely in the providential government of the world; he saw in the church elements that would contribute to political unity; he saw that it was deeply rooted in the affections of a large proportion of the most influential and thrifty people; he knew little about the dogmas of the church—things which he could not understand. But he became a catechumen and received instruction for baptism, which, however, was postponed until 337—the year of his death. Still he did not entirely break with paganism, but continued *pontifex maximus* or high priest of the pagan worship. So he appears to be in a somewhat undecided state of mind, with a strong leaning toward Christianity. This inclination led him to do many things for the material prosperity of the church.

He restored to the church her worldly possessions, such as churches and burial places; he granted numerous privileges, such as exemption from taxes and the right to accept gifts, through which privilege, the church grew rich; and although he remained *pontifex maximus*, he allowed only Christian worship at Constantinople. He was also moved by a great zeal for building, which led him to build churches in various parts of the Holy Land, and in Nicomedia and Constantinople.

It is hardly necessary to add that with such direct encouragement Christianity grew at an enormous rate, and that the growth was far from healthy.

This could hardly have been otherwise. The multitude is always swayed by those who are high in position; the ambitious are mightily influenced by the power to confer favors, and will ever seek to keep themselves in harmony with that power. And so when the court became Christian it was but natural that worldlings and fanatics should "come streaming into the church," having entirely lost sight of the nature and purpose of Christianity, if they had ever seen it.

C. THE PAGAN REACTION*

It is always dangerous both to individuals and to institutions to become successful and popular. From what has already been said, it is evident that the church has entered upon a period extremely dangerous to her spiritual life. She is to take in many members who will know absolutely nothing of her principles; she is consequently to enter upon her long course of progressive corruption which is to wax worse and worse until the cataclysm of the Reformation shall come. Her

*See **Alice Gardner**: *Julian the Philosopher.*

enemies will make a careful note of all her inconsistencies and hypocrisies, and use them with telling effect.

We have already seen how Neoplatonism—the last desperate hope of paganism—had its origin and flourished in the third century. It still flourishes and has become far more superstitious under the influence of Jamblicus in the fourth century. It still represents in a feeble way "the glorious classical culture of Athens in the days of the Academy and the Lyceum." The Christians have not yet developed a philosophical literature of their own, and consequently they are dependent for this culture upon the Neoplatonic teachers, many of whom were brilliant. There were accordingly many points of vital connection between the two opposing sides.

Neoplatonism was to make one more feeble attempt to rehabilitate itself. It was to have the prestige of an emperor for its leader. Julian was a nephew of Constantine the Great. He had had a Christian training; had seen the inconsistencies of the Christians, especially of his cousins, the sons of Constantine; and had shrunk from the austerity and unsensational character of the Christianity he had experienced as it met his "dreamy temperament." This religion therefore repelled him. On the contrary, "he was fascinated by the beauty and naturalness of the Greek classical literature." And so at some point in his early life he secretly renounced Christianity, and during his student days at Athens he was secretly initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. His sympathies with paganism showed themselves immediately when he became emperor.

Julian knew that paganism was still largely in the

majority. In Neoplatonism he found a philosophy ready to hand. His purpose was to revive a paganism that should be highly cultured, strenuously moral and benevolent. He set out to undo all that Constantine had done. He reopened the temples for pagan worship; he required the Christians to rebuild those which they had destroyed—or to furnish the money to pay for the rebuilding; and to restore all property that had been taken from the pagans—saying that he rendered them a service in reducing them to poverty; he forbade the Christians to use the classical literature in their schools, saying that their pupils ought not to come under heathen influences; he forbade Christians to appear as public teachers, hoping thus to injure their influence.

In addition to all this Julian wrote a treatise entitled Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν Λόγοι. He followed in the same lines as the older literary opponents, especially Porphyry. He regarded Christianity as a "contemptible aberration of the age," as a "corrupt Judaism with some shreds of Hellenism," as "full of absurdities unsuitable to serve as the foundation of the higher education of the spirit and character" (Moeller).

Nevertheless, he could not conceal the impressions that Christianity had made upon him. The priests were to give their orations in purple robes; hymns were to be sung in the service; priests must not bring reproach upon their calling by going to the theater, or the wine shops, or by any kind of disorderly walk, or by pursuing any dishonorable trade; "they were on the other hand to occupy themselves with pious books (Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the School of Zeno) and daily to exercise their duties of worship along with their families."

If Julian had lived, it is probable that his opposition would have amounted to persecution. But in a battle with the Persians in 363, after he had reigned only about a year and a half, he was wounded unto death. It is reported that his last words were: "Thou hast conquered, Galilean."

In the death of Julian, paganism lost the last great champion who was to appear in its behalf. It was still strong in Alexandria, in Rome, and in Athens.

Jovian, the successor of Julian, cautiously inclined back to the position of Constantine and his sons, and the war against paganism was carried on with increasing effectiveness by emperor after emperor. Gratian, 375-383, was the first emperor to renounce the title of *pontifex maximus*. The work of Constantine was carried much farther by Theodosius I., 379-395. So more and more the spirit of Christianity permeated and controlled all the empire, and at last, in 529, Justinian closed the Neoplatonic school at Athens, and paganism disappeared from the world as a controlling element of culture.

D. THE PERILS OF THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE

That organic connection with the state was unfortunate for the church has already appeared. Politics is a blight that withers everything it touches. It is not possible, even in the nineteenth century, to keep it entirely out of churches that have no connection with the state. Much greater is the danger when church and state are so closely connected as to be but two sides of the same thing. The empire of Constantine and his successors was the same empire that had persecuted Christianity. Although Christianity by its own intrinsic worth and force had conquered paganism,

and commanded the respect and protection of the empire, the emperors did not see the facts as they were. They would endure no superior, and brook no equal. They preposterously claimed that they had set the church free—entirely ignoring the fact that it was only true policy for them to do so. Since, therefore, they had rendered the church so great a service, it was but right and proper that they should control the church.

We may then note:

(a) That with freedom from persecution, with honor, and with prosperity, came, as always, greed and ambition.

(b) That the state had freed the church, as it claimed, and now it should rule the church. Specifically it claimed:

1st. The right to administer ecclesiastical law.

2d. The right to summon general councils and confirm their action.

3d. The right to appoint bishops to the most important episcopal sees.

4th. The right to supreme jurisdiction in the spiritual courts.

5th. A determining voice in all dogmatic controversies.*

When we look at these demands we can readily see that if they were all granted the church would be completely enthralled. And while these claims were to a considerable extent made good—the church was not fully asleep to the dangers, and we have the beginnings of the conflict between church and empire that is to constitute one of the principal features of the Middle Ages.

*See **Sohm**; *O. C. H.*, p. 46.

B. Church Extension

During the first three centuries the leaven of Christianity had spread far and wide through the empire. In the north churches had been established at Treves, Metz, and Cologne. But in the next three centuries the empire is to be overrun by barbarian hordes who are to be subdued for Christianity and civilization by those whom they shall conquer. These new peoples have great depth of nature; they are children of the forest and so averse to indoor life; they are profoundly earnest and serious; they are loyal to their leaders and their tribes; they have a strong love for freedom and a lofty sense of personal dignity. Such natures are, by their very constitution, peculiarly fitted to appreciate the deepest truths of the Gospel. It would, accordingly, be impossible to overestimate the importance of their conversion. For the destinies of future ages lay wrapped up in their unpolished exteriors.

The Goths were the vanguard of this great barbarian wave. They were converted to the Arian form of Christianity through prisoners whom they carried from Cappadocia. Their famous apostle was Ulphilas (313-383). He was born of Christian parents and was very active religiously. The work upon which his fame chiefly rests, is his translation of the Scriptures into the Gothic, for which he invented an alphabet. Ulphilas was conciliatory as to the Nicene creed, but was branded as a heretic, and this resulted in his death.

The Vandals were converted to Arian Christianity by the Goths, who had been much softened in their cruelty. So that when Alaric captured Rome he commanded the churches to be spared. But in the

case of the Vandals it was far otherwise—as was shown in their treatment of the Catholics in North Africa.

Much more important was the conversion of the Franks, which began with Clovis in 496. Previously to this time Arianism prevailed in western Europe, but with the conquests of the Franks the change to Catholicism was completed. The principal result of the Frankish conquest and conversion was the Gallican church which gave to the world Gregory of Tours—"the Frankish Herodotus" (540-594).

That Christianity went into Britain very early we have already learned. That during this period it had a Scriptural theology, was troubled with Pelagianism, and considerably extended its influence, is known, although the records are scanty. But with the Saxon invasions of 449 a new political and social order begins and the way is prepared for the coming of Augustine.

C. Christian Thought and Literature, and the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers

LITERATURE

Cheetham: *Church History*, "Early Period," pp. 213-51.

Harnack: *Hist. of Dogma*, portions of Vols. II-V, inclusive.

Loofs: *Leitfaden*, pp. 146-188.

Seeberg: *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 157-231.

"The Seven Ecumenical Councils," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. XIV.

Early Church History: a series of lectures on the Church Fathers, from Ignatius and Polycarp to Augustine.

The influence of classical culture, very marked during the fourth century, declines in the fifth. It has

been seen how in the third century Clement and Origen found in Greek philosophy and literature "traces of the ever-present Word." Their enthusiasm, less intense, passed on to their immediate successors, who appreciated the beauty and the perfection of the Latin and Greek classics. This is seen especially in Jerome who was so capable of such appreciation. But in his breast there grew up the conviction that between classical culture and Christianity there was a great gulf fixed. There arose accordingly within him a conflict in which his distorted view of Christianity got the better of him and he suffered deep remorse for the zeal he had felt for heathen culture.

It was seen, too, in Augustine, who spoke disparagingly of the "wine of error" that was served to young Christians in the elegant diction of the Greeks and Romans. "But despite this feeling," says Cheetham, "we are conscious that Christian literature shines with the evening glow of classical culture up to about the middle of the fifth century."

After this there is a marked literary decline. Men cease to be original; they become "compilers and epitomizers"; they have a contempt for style; and about 514 Pope Hormisdas is reputed to have published a list of books that Christians must not read.

This is the declension that precedes the bloom of the "great literature of modern Europe." But with the declension of general culture there always goes the declension of theological thought. Nevertheless, the times are big with consequences. Distinctions which have hitherto been vague are now to become sharply defined. These distinctions are all more or less valid. The truth that they contain can be purged of error and clarified only by interaction and conflict. That any

one man or group of men could grasp all the truth and eliminate all the error is too much to expect. We therefore have schools each one of which emphasizes one side of truth and in doing so minimizes other sides equally important. This is the distinguishing mark of all schools—philosophical, theological and scientific. The student who comes to understand this important fact very early in his course will be secured against extreme and one-sided positions which he would otherwise take.

But while these schools are marked by strong individuality, we are to remember that individuality is rarely complete separation. It is rather based upon distinction, and distinction implies fundamental unity. For instance, historians always tell us that the east is given to speculation and theory, while the west is concerned with the practical; that the east is inclined to be radical, while the west is inclined to be conservative; that the east stands for the utmost freedom, while the west stands for authority. But none of these statements can be taken absolutely. It is simply a question of emphasis. Both the east and the west are interested in all truth, but the east is prevailingly speculative while the west is prevailingly practical.

We should mention:

A. THE EASTERN SCHOOLS

The School of Antioch

This school first came into prominence under Lucian about 270, and henceforward became a rival of the Alexandrian school which had been brought to such eminence by Clement and Origen. That it got its first impulse from Alexandrian theological thinking is

certain. But the school at Antioch differed from that of Alexandria on a very fundamental matter. It rejected the Alexandrian view of allegorical interpretation, and put the emphasis mainly upon grammatico-historical interpretation. It is only by this method that the Scriptures can be understood, and understanding is basal. It is thus seen how the Antiochene school gave great prominence to reason in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and how the humanity of Christ received attention too often at the expense of His divinity.

Among the great men of this school should be mentioned especially:

Eusebius of Emesa, (?)-360.
John Chrysostom, c. 347-407.
Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, 350-386.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 393-428.
Theodoret, c. 390-457.

The School of Edessa

Oriental in all its main features.

The New Alexandrian School

This school has undergone important changes since the preceding period. Tradition and authority are much more prominent, and as the school at Antioch dwelt especially upon the human nature of the Lord, so the school at Alexandria was inclined to put especial stress upon His divinity.

The steps in the transition are represented in three men, as follows: "Eusebius of Caesarea may be said to represent the old school; Athanasius the transition; while Cyril is the most conspicuous example of the new."

Among the great men of the school are to be mentioned:

Eusebius of Caesarea. c. 270-341.
Athanasius. c. 246-373.
Didymus. c. 310-395.
Epiphanius. c. 315-403.
The three great Cappadocians:
Basil. 330-379.
Gregory Nazianzen. 325-389.
Gregory of Nyssa. 335-395 (?)
Paulinus of Nola. 358-431.
Leo I. 440-461.

B. THE THEOLOGY OF THE WEST

The schools of the east had a large influence on the western theology. But the western theologians were more particularly interested in the more practical questions of church organization, salvation by the grace of God, and the problems that grew out of such questions. The spirit of the old empire passed into the Latin church.

The influence of Origen is seen in Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and Rufinus; that of Athanasius in Ambrose and Augustine, and Leo I.; while the school of Antioch inspired a group of theologians in the south of Gaul.

The great men of the west are:
Hilary of Poitiers. c. 320-366.
Ambrose. c. 340-397.
Jerome. c. 346-420.
Rufinus. c. 345-410.
Augustine. 354-430.

D. Doctrinal Developments and Controversies

a. developments

Within the body of the church there is some shifting of opinion, and some new ideas emerge during this period.

There is progress in the doctrine of catholicity. According to Augustine faith precedes knowledge. He says if he were not moved by the authority of the church he would not believe in the Gospel. The fact that the church vouches for the canon is quite sufficient for him. The church is, of course, the infallible interpreter of the Scriptures. The see of Peter is at Rome. As to the "rock," he at least once makes it Christ, but sometimes also Peter. With this growth of arbitrary church authority the saving critical spirit lost its power. This was especially true when such a man as Augustine was yielding to ecclesiastical authority.

This seems to show that Augustine was wavering. Outside the church there is no salvation; unbaptized infants are lost.

The doctrine of purgatory originated in a suggestion of Augustine, and the doctrine of an intermediate state is changed into a fixed belief.

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper undergoes modifications and the Lord's bodily presence in the emblems begins to be taken as literally true. The same tendency is also seen in the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

The doctrine that at last all shall be saved was taught by Gregory of Nyssa and Theodore of Mopsuestia, but it was effectually overcome through the influence of Augustine.*

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*Fisher, pp. 142-3.

Augustine's general theological system, so far as he had a theological system, is found in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium.* It touches upon the main points of Christian doctrine, such as sin, grace, predestination; the objects of faith, hope and love; the Holy Spirit, and the resurrection.

In Augustine we have a great confusion of truth and error. Many of his sayings are ultimate statements of fundamental truths, as: "Not what one knows and says, decides, but what one loves." "It is a good thing to me to cleave to God." "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our soul is restless until it rests in Thee" (*Confessions*).

It is easy to understand how a man whose writings are full of gems like these would dominate Christian thought for many hundreds of years.

Seeberg admirably puts the case when he says: "He had the creative power of the reformer, but lacked the gift of destroying. In this way we understand the crowd of contradictions and opposing tendencies in his doctrines."*

B. CONTROVERSIES

LITERATURE

Hefele: *History of the Church Councils*, 451-787, two vols.

The period has intense interest because of the doctrinal controversies that agitated it. It has been seen how, in the preceding period, Christian thinkers were obliged to put their ideas into scientific form. There had been some noble attempts at the formulation of Christian doctrines. But definition is nearly always dangerous—especially when the subject to be defined

*For a good summary of the *Enchiridion*, see **Seeberg**: *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 300 ff.

is abstruse. There consequently began almost immediately to be wide differences among Christian thinkers themselves. These divergences in several important cases led to heresy and schism. Moreover, new problems were constantly arising and demanding prompt and close attention. It is with some of these fundamental questions that we are concerned in this section.

By the close of the second century it had been found expedient to entrust the general direction of the churches to synods. These synods grew in importance and authority all through the third century—and were large or small as the questions to be settled were easy or difficult. Previous to the time of Constantine all these synods or assemblies were restricted within the provinces. But after the conversion of the emperor it became possible to have a universal, or œcumenical council (Ἡ οἰκουμένη γῆ), and it is in these œcumenical councils that the great fundamental doctrines of the church were to be discussed and formulated by bishops from all parts of the empire.

Five of these councils occurred during our period, as follows: Nicaea I., 325; Constantinople I., 381; Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; Constantinople II., 558. Each of these councils had one main issue that occupied most of its attention. These issues will be mentioned in the course of the narrative.

*The Arian Controversy**

As soon as Christians began to think, the problem of Christ's divinity arose and became exceedingly

*See, in addition to **Mehlhorn** and **Farrar, Paine:** *A Critical History of the Evolution of Trinitarianism*, etc. Very radical. **Stanley:** *The History of the Eastern Church.*

perplexing. It was a real problem and could not easily be disposed of. Moreover, upon its correct solution depended the whole future of the church.

Errors usually arise from the inability of earnest men to see the entire situation. They could see only one side, or one side too exclusively. Their undue insistence upon the sides that they saw led them to minimize or entirely ignore other sides equally if not more important. This is well illustrated in the Arian and other controversies of this period. For example: The Sabellians, in their zeal for the unity of God, were led to overlook his tri-personality—thus going to one extreme; but the Arians held to the real sonship of Christ, but denied his co-essential deity—thus going to another extreme.*

The doctrines of Arius grew out of Sabellianism through Paul of Samosata—a dynamic Sabellian, and his pupil Lucian of Antioch, who was a teacher of Arius.

The controversy arose over the difficulties in the thought that: "The son of God who became man and suffered the humiliation of the flesh was to be conceived as distinct from God and yet equal to God."

Various attempts at solution had been made. It was suggested that Christ was only a man specially endowed with holiness and miraculous power. Sabellianism regarded the trinity as three manifestations of one God—denying the real distinction of the Son from the Father. Again it was said that Christ was a creature, spiritual, indeed, and the first of all created beings. This was subordinationism. It made Christ an intermediate being.

That the controversy should break out in Alexandria

* **Bindley:** *Œcumenical Docs. of the Faith*, p. 7.

was to be expected. This old university town, almost from the beginning of its history, had been the trysting place of thinkers—Pagan, Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian. It was in Alexandria—the cosmopolitan city—that all the thought and enterprise of the east and the west met and mingled. It has been truly said that from this city there issued forth:

> "Mellifluous streams which watered all the schools
> Of Academics, old and new, with those
> Surnamed Peripatetics, and the school
> Of Epicureans, and the Stoic severe."

Nothing in a city like Alexandria would be too sacred for the most pitiless dissection. Everything would be expected either to be overthrown or to stand by its inherent almightiness.

Such an environment was exactly suited to develop an Athanasius. The renown of the city would attract an Arius—and the whole atmosphere would produce minds bent on making the nicest distinctions.

Fully to appreciate the controversy it is necessary to glance at the general historical situation. We are in the opening decades of the fourth century. In the century just preceding the old empire had been divided and subdivided. In a series of bloody wars between 306 and 324 Constantine overcame all opposition and united the whole empire under his own rule. But his dominions were full of conflicting interests, racial, political and religious. Like all great statesmen, his supreme object was the unification of his empire. He had seen Christianity wax and heathenism wane. He understood that Christianity was to be the religion of the future. We may grant the genuineness of his conversion and still see distinctly how he would recognize in the religion of Christ a tremendous agency for

moulding diversified humanity into a compact and powerful political organization.

His course in issuing the edict of Milan, and afterwards, was in the main, such a course as any sincere and sagacious statesman must have pursued. It was just at this critical juncture in the emperor's career, when he was looking with such hope into the future and expecting so much from his new religion, that the Arian controversy arose, and that the agency upon which he had built such hopes threatened to divide against itself.

We must now turn our attention more particularly to this controversy. It began, as has been seen, in the cosmopolitan, university town of Alexandria. The issue was respecting the person of the Son of God. Some time in 318 or 319 Bishop Alexander preached a sermon on "The Great Mystery of the Trinity in Unity." Arius was present and objected to the discourse on the ground that "it tended to obliterate the distinction of the three persons in the Godhead—and therein savored of Sabellianism."

From this point the development of the views of Arius was very rapid. He soon reached the point at which he regarded the Son as a creature, and with this advance was left behind the doctrine that the Son is co-eternal and co-essential with the Father. The name Father, he said, implies priority—the Son must be subordinate, there was when he was not (Ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν). There could therefore be no *identity* of nature between Father and Son.

Moreover Arius was able to quote Scripture. The Old Testament was rigidly monotheistic. "The Lord our God is one God."

From the New Testament he quoted such verses as:

"My Father is greater than I."—"Who is the first born of every creature."

In reply it has been said that: "The strength of Arius in dialectic lay in the necessary shadows and imperfections of finite language to express infinite realities." The words "Father" and "Son" could not be taken in their ordinary material sense.

Athanasius quoted Scripture as follows: "This is my beloved Son." "The word was God." "All things were made by him." He showed that Arius had misinterpreted his texts. He crowded Arius into the dilemma that Christ must either be of the same substance with God—or a creature. In the first case there is no contention, in the second Christ cannot be worshiped.

Many attempts were made to bring Arius back into the fold—but all were futile. At last he was excommunicated. The controversy raged and spread. In 321 a large synod was held in Alexandria and the teachings of Arius were condemned. But the condemnation availed little. Arianism extended far and wide. Within three years the leaven of Arianism had spread through all Christendom. It reached not only the educated, but also the multitude, and was the subject of warm discussion among all classes. It is said that: "The very theaters of Byzantium began to ring with jokes on the divisions of Christians."

Now we can easily understand how this serious and widespread controversy would distress the emperor Constantine, whose chief concern was to secure unity and peace throughout his empire. As soon as he could find leisure he wrote an impatient letter to Alexander and Arius. He reminded them that, anxious as he had been for unanimity and peace, and much as he

had expected from Christianity in realizing his ideal, he had already been vexed by the Donatist schism in Africa—and now "there is a new discord. And there is no real ground for it. The subjects in dispute are trivial. I offer myself as an arbiter. You, Alexander, asked the opinion of your presbyters on a question of little importance; and you, Arius, have propounded an opinion which you ought never to have held, or, at any rate, to have uttered. Hence has come this division and faction. I, your fellow servant, urge you to forgive each other equally for the unguarded question and the inconsiderate answer. It is a pity that the question was ever raised. No Christianity requires the investigation of such subjects; they arise from the disputatious cavils of ill-employed leisure. Few can understand these difficult matters in which there ought to be mutual tolerance. In reality you are agreed. Return to your former charity and restore to me my quiet days and tranquil nights,or you will force me to weep and to despair of any personal peace. Your discords alone prevent me from paying a visit to the east."*

This curious letter undoubtedly shows the benevolent yearning of a statesman. But it betrays how little of a philosopher or a theologian the emperor really was. Evidently he did not know that men who are born to investigate and to think will do so at all hazards.

The letter was sent to Alexandria by Hosius late in 324. We do not need to be told that it did no good. It probably widened the breach rather than otherwise. Another council was held and Arius was again condemned.

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* For the entire letter, see **Socrates:** *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 7.

It now became evident to the emperor that this great disturbance, with its center in Alexandria, but which had extended itself to all the nerve centers of the Christian world, could be settled only by a universal and representative council of bishops from the whole church.

Hitherto an œcumenical council had never been possible. But now the persecutions are over; Christianity is triumphant; the emperor is a Christian; all things are favorable; the call is issued. For many reasons it is not thought best to hold the council at Alexandria, but at Nicaea in Bithynia, some twenty-five miles southeast of Byzantium. The members of the council are to be the guests of the emperor. Soon a stir is noticed along all the roads leading toward Nicaea. To quote from Stanley's vivid description: "On all the great lines of communication—straight as arrows—were to be seen the bishops—each with his two presbyters and three slaves. They traveled partly in public carriages, partly on horses, asses and mules, provided for the purpose—both for riding and carrying baggage." Eusebius speaks of them as coming as fast as they could run, in almost a frenzy of excitement and enthusiasm. For perhaps three weeks they continued to arrive until the entire gathering—attendants and all—numbered probably two thousand.

The composition of the council is very interesting. It is generally agreed that there were three hundred and eighteen bishops. Of these, three hundred and ten were from the east—only eight from the west. The bishop of Rome, being too old to make the journey, was represented by Victor and Vincent. But the greatest of the western bishops and one of the greatest men in the council was Hosius of Cordova, who, for the west,

was to the emperor what Eusebius of Caesarea was for the east.

Among these bishops were the old and the young, the learned and the unlearned—from city, from forest and from caves in the mountains. Many of them came bearing the marks of Diocletian's persecution, with eyeless sockets, scarred faces, twisted and withered limbs, and paralyzed hands. Such an assembly had never met before. It was a momentous day in the history of the world. They were good men—many of them were great men—but they had their limitations. They had suffered for the faith. They had deeply-rooted convictions, and they were ready to stand for their convictions to the bitter end. Many of them had grievances against their brethren, and they did not hesitate to make their grievances known.

After numerous preliminary meetings and heated debates, in which the heathen philosophers sometimes took part, Constantine opened the council June 19th, 325. In his speech he said: "It has, my friends, been my highest wish to enjoy your sacred company, and, having obtained this, I confess my thankfulness to the King of all. . . . To me far worse than any war or battle is the civil war of the church of God. . . . As, then, by the assent and co-operation of a higher power, I have gained my victories over my enemies, I thought that nothing remained but to give God thanks, and to rejoice with those who have been delivered by us. But since I learn of your divisions, contrary to all expectations, I gave the report my first consideration. . . . I rejoice at the mere sight of your assembly; but the moment that I shall consider the chief fulfillment of my prayers will be when I see you all joined together in heart and soul, and determining on one

peaceful harmony for all, which it should well become you who are consecrated to God to preach to others. . . ."

But it was soon discovered that the differences were radical. It was no mere war of words. The two parties could not agree in the interpretation of Scripture. The orthodox claimed that the Arians explained Scripture "in an unreal sense." It devolved upon them, therefore, to show what the real sense was, and so in spite of themselves they were forced into close definition. There must be some standard of faith—a creed which should be subscribed to as a test of discipleship and orthodoxy.

Previously there had been a Rule of Faith and it had taken different forms in different localities. Knowledge of these formularies is very meager, but that they existed and that some of them had reached a considerable degree of perfection is known. It was not to be expected therefore that the new creed would be a *de novo* production.

When the council had settled to work the first creed that was proposed came from the Arian party, and was signed by eighteen bishops. It has not been preserved —but it was greeted with a storm of disapproval—was torn to pieces and all but two of its signers deserted Arius, who disappeared from the council.

The next creed came from Eusebius of Caesarea. It was the creed, he said, which he had learned in his boyhood. He had taught it all his life. It was approved by the emperor, and it accorded with his own view that divine things cannot be precisely described in human language. It met with strong favor and became the basis of the new creed. But when it was found that the Arians were willing to sign it sus-

picion was aroused. If an Arian could sign it there must be something wrong with it. They must have a creed that no Arian could sign.

A letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia furnished the word. He said: "Those who say that the Son is uncreated have to say that He is of one substance (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father. This is absurd."

Now the fact that to be of one substance with the Father was absurd to the Arians made the one thing lacking to the orthodox.

When it was proposed it met with a storm of opposition from the Arians. To them it was "unscriptural," "heretical," "materialistic," "Sabellian," "Montanistic." These objections were all met by Athanasius and the orthodox, and ὁμοούσιος—or of one substance—became the decisive word, and Hosius of Cordova arose and announced that the creed had been completed.

The Nicene creed in its original form reads as follows:

"We believe in one God the Father, Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God from God, Light from Light, very God from very God, begotten not made, of the same substance (ὁμοούσιον) with the Father, through whom all things were made, both the things in heaven and the things on earth, who for us men and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate, and became man, suffered and rose again the third day, ascended to heaven and will come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost."

"Those who say that there was when He was not,

and that He was made from things that are not or from another substance or nature, saying that the son of God is changed or changeable, the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic church anathematizes."

And this is the declaration of faith as it came forth from the council of Nicaea. It was signed by the 318 bishops. Some of them did it with mental reservation that was not conducive to the highest development of the spiritual nature. It is the first case of subscription on record. We regret the anathematizing clauses; the article on the Holy Ghost needs elaboration; a doctrine of the church and the sacraments is lacking; and there is no doctrine of the future life. Later on the anathematizing clauses were dropped, and needed additions were made.*

Most unfortunately the decision of Nicaea did not settle the controversy. The Arians arose again, the emperors vacillated, the tide turned against Athanasius for a time, and the conflict continued for more than fifty years. "But," says Sohm, "Arianism could not endure, for it had not the strength that the storms of history demand. It was the first attempt to replace the faith of Christianity by a dialectic rationalism" (**Sohm**: *O. C. H.*, p. 53).

The Christological Controversies

The conflict over the fact of the incarnation was so absorbing that there was little thought of the nature of the incarnation. It was only a question of time, however, when this even more abstruse problem would come up and make its urgent demands.

The Arian controversy had settled the question of the divinity and humanity of Christ. Theologians

*For the creed as we have it to-day, see **Fisher,** *H. C. C.*, p. 132.

must now concern themselves with the relation of these two natures. The problem was: How can the divine and the human be united in one person?

The first theory offered is known as Apollinarianism, from Apollinarus, bishop of Laodicea, c. 380.

Apollinarus held to the three-fold nature of man body, soul and spirit. The highest nature is spirit. The Logos displaces the spirit in man The result is that Christ's complete humanity is sacrificed. Apollinarus was a man of decided literary ability, and he consequently soon had a large following. Apollinarianism was the main issue at the First Council of Constantinople, 381.

The second theory was Nestorianism—which took its name from Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, 428.

In the Apollinarian controversy there arose two parties—the Alexandrian and the Antiochene. As these parties engaged in conflict the Antiochene party was crowded into the position that there are two persons in Christ—a divine and a human.

The theory originated not with Nestorius, but with Anastasius, one of his presbyters. In a sermon Anastasius objected to the phrase "Mother of God" (θεοτόκος). He maintained that she could only be the mother of His human nature. Nestorius sided with his presbyter and suggested the phrase "Mother of Christ" (χριστοτόκος). This idea carried out led Nestorius into a merely mechanical union of the two natures in the incarnation.

His most formidable antagonist was Cyril of Alexandria. Celestine, bishop of Rome, sided with Cyril. It was urged against Nestorius that: "In this case we are redeemed by the sufferings of a mere man, a man is to us the Way and the Truth and the Life, we wor-

ship a God-inhabited man, we are baptized into a man, in the supper we partake of the flesh and blood of a man" (**Banks**: *Devel. of Doc.*, p. 110).

A council was called at Ephesus, 431. Nestorius would not appear, and before the arrival of the bishops from the east, in spite of strong protests, Nestorius was condemned. Although the method of the council cannot be approved, its action is sustained by the verdict of history.

The third theory is Eutychianism. The problem of the union of the divine and human in the nature of Christ remained unsolved. About 448 Eutyches, abbot at Constantinople, set forth the theory that after the incarnation there was but one nature in Christ—a fusion of the divine and human—a single nature—"God made flesh and come to dwell in man." But when he was pressed, it turned out that this nature was neither divine nor human, but something different from both.

Eutyches was opposed by Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople. Dioscurus, Cyril's successor, took the side of Eutyches. A synod was called in 446 at Ephesus, at which the Eutychians carried things with a high hand, using physical violence. It has been called the "Robber Synod." This led to the council of Chalcedon, 451, in which Eutychianism was the issue. This council is famous for its celebrated Definition, which was intended to be an all-round and final solution of this very abstruse, and perhaps insoluble problem. As this document is so important, its main provisions will be given.

It accepts the creed of Nicaea, with the changes that it has undergone, and proceeds as follows: "This wise and saving watchword of the grace of God would have

sufficed for the true knowledge and establishment of our religion. But since those who seek to spoil the proclamation of the Truth through their own wilful errors have produced their idle utterances, some daring to undermine the Lord's incarnation for our sakes, and to reject the term 'Mother of God,' and others to introduce [the theory of] a compound and mixture, foolishly feigning that the nature of the Flesh and the Godhead is one, and unnaturally asserting that the divine nature of the Only Begotten is, by the compound, passible. . . . [the synod] opposes those who seek to rend the mystery of the incarnation into a Pair of Sons, and thrusts from the assembly of holy worship those who dare to say that the Godhead of the Only Begotten is passible, and resists those who invent a mixture or compound concerning the two natures of the Christ, and cast forth those who teach, that that 'Form of the Bond-servant,' which he took from us is of celestial or any non-human essence, and bans those who fable two natures of the Lord before the union but invent one nature after it. Following then the holy Fathers [of Nicaea and Constantinople], we confess One and the Same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and all with one voice teach that he is perfect in Godhead and perfect also in Manhood, God truly, also Man truly, of reasonable soul and body consisting, consubstantial, co-essential, (ὁμοούσιον), with the Father as to the Godhead, and also consubstantial (co-essential) with us as to the Manhood, in all things like to us without sin, begotten of the Father before the ages as to the Godhead, but also in the end of days, for us and for our salvation, [born] of Mary, the virgin, the Mother of God, as to the Manhood; confessed one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only Begotten, in two

Natures, without compound, without change, without division, without (possible) separation, the differences of the natures being nowise removed because of the Union, but rather the property of each Nature being preserved, and concurring in one Person and one substance, not as if He were to be partitioned . . . into two Persons; but One and the same Son, and Only Begotten, God, Word, Lord Jesus Christ; as of old the Prophets concerning him, and also He, the Lord himself, instructed us and as the Watchword of the Fathers hath handed it down to us."*

The fourth theory was Monophysitism—or the doctrine that Christ has only one nature.

This is really an extension of Eutychianism. For it was the Definition of Chalcedon that gave rise to the Monophysite controversy, which lasted one hundred and fifty years after the Council of Chalcedon. The revolt started in Palestine and was led by a monk whose name was Theodosius. It soon extended to Alexandria; Proterius, the patriarch, was assassinated, and succeeded by Aelurus, a Monophysite. It had not only a religious but also a political significance. As the Arian controversy in the days of Constantine disturbed the unity of the empire, so the Monophysite controversy shook the empire to its very foundations. Different emperors took different sides. Zeno sought a reconciliation and issued the *Henoticon* in 482. This document sought to avoid the controverted points. But it failed to accomplish anything. And so the controversy raged until we come to the beginning of the end at the accession of Justinian, 527-565. He is sometimes called the "Theological Emperor," and

*Translated by **Moule**: *O. C. D.*, pp. 67, 68.

there is no question as to his ability to appreciate the fine points in theological discussions.*

The great aim of Justinian's life was to reunite and establish the empire upon the Chalcedonian Creed. He began by making concessions to the Monophysites. Then he collected the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; the letters of Theodoret against Cyril; and the letter of Ibas to Maris into "Three Chapters," and pronounced them heretical. When requested to concur,the eastern bishops complied—the western bishops refused. It appears that Vigilius, the profligate bishop of Rome, had made a promise to Theodora, the wife of Justinian, that he would concur. But when he faced the people of the west he did not keep his promise. Justinian then brought him to Constantinople and forced him to draw up a *judicatum* condemning "The Three Chapters". In 553 the second council of Constantinople was convened,and "The Three Chapters" were condemned.

The Origenistic Controversy

Origen,who had held so conspicuous a place as the founder of Christian Theology in the preceding period, is destined gradually to lose his influence in the fifth and sixth centuries. Origen was pre-eminently spiritual in his conceptions—but during this period materialism and externalism are creeping in, and as they advance Origen recedes. His writings are found to be full of heresy—and at last he and his views are condemned at the second council of Constantinople in 553.

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*See **Hutton**; *The Church in the Sixth Century.*

The Pelagian Controversy

Until the opening of the fifth century the question of the relation of man's will to God's will had not come up for serious discussion. But this relation is so central among the problems of religion and ethics that the circle would be quite incomplete without some attempt at exposition. Like all such discussions it arose out of a peculiar environment and expressed itself through two great men, each of whom had a large following, and both of whom, in the exigencies of debate, were driven to the maintenance of propositions which could not stand the test of reason and experience.

The leaders in this controversy were Augustine — 354 - 430, and Pelagius — c. 370 - c. 440. Augustine's intense nature, his long, bitter, and varied experience with sin, had led him to a deep and abiding conviction of the terrible nature and universality of sin. In his helplessness and hopelessness he had an experience in his inmost heart of the almighty power of God's grace. He was so impressed with this power that it became the dominant influence in all his subsequent thought and life. From his studies in Neoplatonism he had gained the idea that God is the source of everything that is good.

His theology was centered in a few fundamental positions—the outgrowth of his experience and reflection. Man, he said, freely fell in Adam, and in the fall lost his ability, and was utterly undone—became a mass of perdition; he is saved by grace alone, without any co-operation on his own part; through grace his freedom is restored, and again he is in harmony with the spirit of God; but God, for good and sufficient reasons, willed to save some but not all of

the fallen race; salvation outside the visible church is impossible.

Augustine's was a magnetic character, and his influence soon spread far and wide. Western Christendom began to carry his doctrines to their logical results, and they were beginning to bear fruit in the lives of men.

That a spirit of protest should arise was natural. It found expression in Pelagius, a British monk, who in Rome, early in the fifth century, began to exhort men to change their ways. "Often he received the reply; 'it is too hard for us; we cannot do it; we are but men; sinful flesh doth grossly close us in.'" Augustine's expression in his *Confessions:* "Grant what thou commandest, command what thou wilt," Pelagius often met.

Now it was not possible for Pelagius to understand Augustine and his doctrines. By nature he was the opposite of Augustine. He was cool and self-possessed; he had gone through no such struggles with sin, and again and again been overcome in the struggle; if the graver temptations had ever come to him he had been able to resist them. He was moreover deeply read in the Greek theology, and this had, no doubt, influenced his conception of sin. To him the teachings of Augustine, as they appeared in their fruits, were exceedingly harmful. He was thus induced to formulate some propositions of his own. He took exalted views of the nature and ability of man, and light views of the nature of sin. His doctrines are, briefly stated, as follows:

He denied that all men are involved in Adam's fall; sin is confined to specific acts of the will; there is no such thing as original sin; the natural human will is

entirely sufficient to the attainment of holiness; faith has become formal and dead; such a faith should give way to earnest moral endeavor.

Pelagius was already an old man when his views came out. He did not like controversy. But his pupil, Coelestius, a Roman lawyer, younger and more daring, precipitated and perpetuated the conflict. It was carried on by Julian of Eclanum. It divided synods and councils. It involved popes. It was received with some favor in the east, yet, on account of its supposed affinity with Nestorianism, it was condemned at the council of Ephesus. It met with little favor in the west.

Yet neither were the views of Augustine ever completely accepted in the west. Many theologians hesitated at the extreme consequences.

The free-will controversy thus introduced in the fifth century was not permanently settled. It reappears again and again. It is one of those antinomies that run through history and theology and philosophy.

It is a curious fact that during the early history of the church, the controversies raged mainly around the person of Christ, and that the great doctrines of the Atonement, and Redemption, and the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith hardly came into prominence at all.

E. The Growth of Centralization

Already the power was gradually centralizing in the churches of Rome, Antioch and Alexandria. Environment and tradition had united in making these three churches the leaders of Christendom. At the council of Nicaea their privileges were confirmed.

The jurisdiction of Alexandria extended over Egypt

and the adjacent countries; that of Antioch over Syria and adjoining portions of the eastern empire; that of Rome over Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Valeria.

But now suddenly Constantinople comes to the front and takes a place second only to Rome. This city has become the second capital of the Empire, and at the first council in 381 its bishop is suddenly raised to this lofty position. The council of Chalcedon in 451 makes him ruler over Thrace, Asia Minor and Pontus. That same council raised the bishop of Jerusalem to the rank of Patriarch of Palestine. There are now five great sees—Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. "The guidance of the Christian Church lay in their hands. But the meaning of their new title was this: that each one of them had the right to the rank of "Great Father," or Pope of all Christendom. And now there appeared on the horizon the question of a monarchical head of the church, of the œcumenical *ecclesia*, furnished by law with supreme authority. The great question suggested by the title of Patriarch was this: "Who among all these great bishops shall be first, the *Primate of the whole church?*" (**Sohm**: *O. C. H.*, p. 58).

Almost from the beginning the decision lies between Rome and Constantinople.

Why should the primacy go to Constantinople? In the first place the eastern emperor is the emperor of the world—and it was the spirit of the Roman Empire that its head should rule not only the state but the church as well.

In the second place the bishop of Constantinople was the imperial bishop, and his interests would be indentical with those of the emperor.

But why should Rome have the primacy?

1st. It became evident at once that the freedom of the church would be too greatly endangered if the primacy were at Constantinople.

2d. From the middle of the second century the Roman church was supposed to have been founded by Peter and Paul, and its bishop claimed to be the successor of Peter.

3d. The decision of an Apostolic church was supposed to be of special authority. Rome was the only Apostolic church in the west. Its relations with Africa, Spain and Gaul were unbroken.

4th. Rome was the "Eternal City"—the capital of the world.

5th. In all the doctrinal controversies of the first three centuries the Roman church had been the controlling influence.

6th. Through all the great controversies Rome had remained unfalteringly orthodox—and this fact was known through the east and the west.

7th. Rome was first by right of "ecclesiastical primogeniture."

Two important results came out of this contest for the primacy.

The first was, that on the whole, Rome was decidedly the gainer, and the power of her bishops, and the extent of their influence were greatly increased.

The second was that the marked differences between the mental temperaments of the East and the West became more sharply defined. A long step is taken toward the final separation of the East and the West.

The growth of centralization was greatly aided by the growth of canon law, which was now beginning to take definite form.

It was but natural that the moral precepts of Christianity should express themselves in rules, and that these rules should be systematized. There were rules of merely local interest and rules of universal interest. The latter rules because of their general value were codified.

As the church in so many respects was copying the Empire, it was to be expected that in this fundamental matter the *syntagma* or *Nomocanon* of Johannes Scholasticus, c. 570, should derive much benefit from the codes of Theodosius, 438, and Justinian, 534.

A strong retarding influence to centralization was developed in the Donatist movement, which became a schism, involved nearly all of Africa, and lasted more than a hundred years. The motive for this schism was a stricter discipline, and greater purity of life both in the clergy and the laity.

F. Christian Life and Worship

We have said that all divisions in history are more or less arbitrary. History is one vast all-comprehending process. Its thought and life in all their infinite varieties move on together as parts of one great whole. And so while the leading doctrines of the church were taking form through conflict, and while the gospel was spreading among the heathen, and while the church was organizing and centralizing, significant developments were taking place in the forms of worship and in the practical life of the people.

When Constantine came to the imperial throne and reunited the empire a momentous change took place in general history. It meant the death of heathenism

and the enthronement of Christianity. It was another step in the decay of a mighty civilization which is by the end of the sixth century to pass out yielding, its permanent elements to combination with the ideas and institutions of the rude men of the north. The result is a new civilization full of promise. For Christianity it is a time of bright hope and grave apprehension. The new religion becomes popular, wealthy and cultured. The church is soon filled with merely nominal Christians. The real Christians have the usual imperfections and limitations of men. The loaves and fishes become powerful motives. People who become Christians expect to make something out of it. The more ambitious seek the positions of honor and power in order that they may turn them to their own advantage It is not long until the world is impressed with the hypocrisy and wickedness of clergy and laity alike. This, as we have seen, made an early and lasting impression on the emperor Julian.

But, fortunately, there is always a saving remnant in society. There will always be those who are entirely sincere, who will first be shocked at those who profess but do not, who will finally raise their voices in protest, and support their words by their deeds. Such men and women turn out to be expressions of smoldering public opinion, and as a consequence they bring things to pass.

During the three centuries of this period there is no break with the preceding periods. The great lines of growth move on. Movements, good and bad, that have in them elements of strength, push on to fuller development; seeds previously planted germinate and grow.

A. MONASTICISM

LITERATURE

Weingarten: *Ursprung des Mönchthums.*
Moeller: *Geschichte des Mönchthums.*
Harnack: *Das Möchthum, seine Idealen und seine Geschichte.*
Montalembert: *The Monks of the West.* 7 vols.
Wishart: *Monks and Monasticism.*

The causes that led to Monasticism have already been considered. The same conditions continue to exist in this period, with the difference that they are much enlarged and intensified.

In monasticism we have some shocking extremes of fanaticism, such as the Stylites founded by Simeon Stylites—390-460, and the Bosci (Βόσκοι). But these do not fairly represent the monastic orders that grew up through the east and the west and became tremendous agencies in the progress of Christianity and the world.

Monasticism in the East

Egypt was in a very special sense the home of monasticism.

As the principal founders and promoters of monasticism in the east we may mention:

1st. Pachomius, who in 335, founded a monastery at Tabennae, and gave it a rule. Its chief characteristics were "simplicity of life, labour, devotion and obedience."

2d. Basil, one of the Three Great Cappadocians. He founded a cloister in Neo-Caesarea and gave it a rule. Basil himself was a man of profound scholarship. This was a controlling fact in his conception of

a monastery. So he sought a combination of asceticism with the scientific study of theology. Basil's order exists still to-day in the Greek church.

3d. Nilus, who founded a monastery on Sinai between 420 and 440. This monastery became a treasury for the manuscripts of the literature of the Fathers and the Bible. Important discoveries have been made here in our own times.

Monasticism in the West

Monastic ideas were not long in finding their way into the west. It is said that about 341 Athanasius carried the idea to Rome. Augustine found a monastery at Milan supported by Ambrose. Rufinus lived as a catechumen in a monastery at Aquileia before 370. Here he met Jerome, who was the chief early promoter of monasticism in the west.

The environments here were very different from those in the east. There was, for instance, a vast difference in the climate. This had a very decided influence on the form which the institution should take. Moreover, the more practical turn of the western mind made the fanatical extremes of the East impossible. There could not have been a Simeon Stylites in the west.

The principal founders of monasteries were:

1st. John Cassianus. He was born in the west, probably in Gaul; was a pupil of Jerome at Bethlehem; was a sojourner among the monks and anchorets of Egypt for years; was ordained deacon by Chrysostom; visited Rome; settled in southern Gaul. Here in upper Provence at Apt he founded a monastery and a convent shortly after 410. His *De Coenob. Institutis*

supplied the foundation and gave the impetus to western monasticism.*

2d. Benedict of Nursia. c. 480-543. Born of noble family; sent to Rome for scientific study, he was shocked by the prevalent immorality which he saw on all sides, and retired to Subiaco. Here he underwent great conflicts with his passions. He also found that he could not escape the crowds who were attracted by his fame. He accordingly set out for southern Italy, where he became the founder of the famous monastery of Monte Cassino. Benedict wrote the rule that became the model of nearly all the monasteries that were subsequently established in the west in 529.†

The purpose of the rule was the training of the members of the monastery—and not the training of the world outside. Its idea was that of a "conversion from the world." Yet it contained germs of whose fruits Benedict had no conception. For example, the results of manual labor and agriculture could not be confined within the boundaries of a monastery. They were destined to have a powerful effect on civilization.

3d. Cassiodorus. c. 470-563.

Born and reared in high life, he served under Theodoric, was a senator and a man of wide connections. Forsaking all these attractions he withdrew to Abruzzi where he founded the monastery of Vivarium and supplied it with books and all the necessaries for study. This monastery in many respects took the place of a theological school in the west. Here he composed his celebrated Institutions.

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*For excellent outline, see **Moeller,** Vol. I, pp. 363-371.

†For good outline of Benedict's rule, see **Smith's** *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. I, pp. 409-414.

"Not only were the monks incited by his example to the study of classical and sacred literature; he trained them likewise in the careful transcription of manuscripts, in the purchase of which large sums were continually disbursed. Bookbinding, gardening, and medicine were among the pursuits of the less intellectual members of the fraternity. The system took root and spread beyond the boundaries of Italy, so that the multiplication of manuscripts became gradually as much a recognized employment of monastic life as prayer and fasting."*

In monasticism we see the beginnings of a great protest of the individual against a constitutional church which had already gone so far as to be in a considerable degree mechanical and dead. In monasticism with all its perversions and later corruptions we have a foregleam of the reformation which, in the sixteenth century, is to sweep over western Christendom with irresistible power.†

B. CLERICAL CELIBACY

Another manifestation of the ascetic tendency was seen in the rising disposition to recommend that the clergy refrain from marriage. This spirit showed itself in the council of Nicaea and called out the strong and effectual protest of Paphnutius. Yet the tendency was unmistakable, and it gathered strength as the years went by. While marriage was the privilege of all, those who did not marry were looked upon as superior and were the subjects of greater honor. The oriental idea of the essential impurity of matter and

*Quoted by **Cheetham**, pp. 265-6, from *Dict. of Christian Biog.*

†See **Allen**—chapter on Monasticism in his *Christian Institutions.*

consequently of the physical body was very strong. In such an age as this it could be only a question of time when the celibacy of the clergy would be required.

C. WORSHIP

To us it seems strange that any part of worship, or any of the doctrines of the church should be kept secret. Yet in the early church there were many reasons that seemed to make the *disciplina arcani* necessary. Among these reasons was the fear that they might be imitated or parodied by the heathen.

All who entered the church had to pass through a course of preparatory instruction and were called catechumens. When the catechumens came to the end of their course the *arcana coelesti* were fully explained to them, especially the creed and the sacraments.

Baptism in the west was usually administered on Easter and Pentecost. The preparations were essentially the same as in the preceding period. The mode was trine immersion. The washing of feet appears early in the fourth century. Infant baptism was practiced but: "It is clear that in the period with which we are dealing, baptism was commonly administered to such as were capable of instruction in the mysteries" (**Cheetham**: p. 272).

Baptism was usually postponed until as late in life as possible, since it was a washing away of sins, and since sins committed after baptism were harder to be forgiven. In an emergency a layman might baptize.

The act of central interest in worship was the Lord's Supper; theoretically, preaching was regarded as preparatory to the Lord's Supper. But in cities where

the state of general culture was high, and where men with gifts of eloquence, like Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, were found, preaching came to have a place of its own, and even took the precedence of the Lord's Supper. "From the fourth century Greek rhetorical art takes possession of the Christian pulpit and introduces a short period of splendor in Greek preaching" (**Moeller**: Vol. I., p. 533).

The duty of preaching devolved upon the bishop. But the presbyter often preached. Under no circumstances might a layman preach.

The singing was done by the congregation and by the choir at the beginning of the period. Symphonies and antiphonies (anthems) were developed. Chrysostom and Ambrose used the antiphony in opposition to the Arians who, being excluded from the churches, put their doctrines into verses to be sung. In the Greek church congregational singing was displaced by the choir—while in the Roman church it came to be done by the priests.

D. FESTIVALS

Various festivals were observed in the preceding period, but it was reserved to the Post-Nicene age to develop the Festivals of Saints. Christianity had gained its victories at a fearful cost of suffering and life. And after it was all over it would have been exceedingly ungrateful not to remember the heroes who had sacrificed their all in the conflict. And in a primitive age the tendency was strong to magnify unduly their valor, and make them something more than men. This commemoration easily led to a kind of worship. The heroes were thought to be especially near to God. Therefore requests made known to

them were likely to be more effectual with God. The step then was short from the worship of their spirits to the worship of their bodies. Then the places where they had lived or where they had done their great deeds, or had died, became especially sacred. Their bones or any articles that they had used came to have peculiar efficacy. Then by natural sequence came pilgrimages to their tombs, saints' days and saints' calendars.

Before all the saints was placed Mary, the Mother of God—the subject of the Nestorian controversy. All her qualities were exaggerated. Virginity was exalted—it was said that Mary remained a virgin after the birth of the Saviour.

E. CHRISTIAN ART

As soon as Christianity was recognized favorably by the emperors, and grew in popularity, larger and more attractive places of worship became a necessity. The feeling of triumph over paganism, and the addition of members more or less lax in their lives, tended to soften the extremely rigorous views of the earlier days. It soon became possible for the æsthetic nature to express itself in all the forms of art — architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Now it was clearly impossible for Christianity to form new conceptions in architecture. It could only adapt what it found at hand, and what had been the slow growth of ages. The heathen temples did not very well meet the demands of Christian worship, and although they were sometimes used, their use was not extensive. The Roman basilicas, used as courts of justice, market places and exchanges, however, just as they stood, could be used with perfect ease. And so

they gave the forms which controlled, with their various modifications, much of the church-building of the future. The body of the building was used by the congregation, and the semi-circular apse for the altar. The bishop, of course, took the place of the praetor, or quaestor, the priests or presbyters, the places of the assessors. "The apse was sometimes separated from the rest of the building by a transverse passage running across the entrance to the apse, thus converting the building into the form of a cross. These passages were called transepts." Buildings of this kind are San Clemente in Rome, St. Paul's Outside the Walls, built c. 386, and Old St. Peter's, built in the reign of Constantine and "the two small basilicas of St. Agnese, and San Lorenzo, at the gates of Rome."

Another form of building was the dome-shaped, of which St. Sophia is the greatest example.

So great was the horror of image worship among the early Christians that they discouraged all visible representations of Christ. But in the time of Constantine we begin to have historical representations of Christ, "and find him on the sarcophagi teaching or working miracles."

"The only really important existing Christian statue of this period is the large seated bronze figure of St. Peter in St. Peter's at Rome." Once started, sculpture developed rapidly. "In the time of Constantine, too, Christian painting, no longer confined to subterranean life, was called upon to decorate the vast basilicas and churches appropriately to the new worship."*

*See **D'Anvers**: *Elementary History of Art.* For the development of Ecclesiastical Architecture, see especially **Martin.**

BOOK SECOND

MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY

(590–1517)

LITERATURE

Especial references will be made in the course of the narrative. General works for continual reference are:

Assmann: *Allgemeine Geschichte des Mittelalters.* Very valuable. 2d ed. Meyer.

Leo: *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters.* 2 vols.

Pflugk-Hartung: *Geschichte des Mittelalters.* 3 vols.

Giesebrecht: *Deutsche Kaiserzeit.* 6 vols. Indispensable. Contains abstracts of many documents.

Emerton: *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages,* and *Mediæval Europe.* These two volumes contain the fruits of many years of patient investigation. The bibliographies are extensive and are selected with great care.

Mathews: *Select Mediæval Documents.* 2d ed., with critical notes and glossary. A careful selection of leading documents from 752 to 1245.

Henderson: *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.* A translation of many leading documents.

The University of Pennsylvania: *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History.* Contains many mediæval documents—valuable. Six volumes now published (1901).

Thatcher and Schwill: *Europe in the Middle Ages.* An excellent repertory of facts attractively presented.

Dunning: *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval.* New.

Duruy: *History of the Middle Ages.* Many chapters in the book are clear and animated.

Gibbon: *Decline and Fall.*

Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire.* Of permanent value.

Fisher: *Mediæval Empire.* 2 vols. New, and admirable supplement to Bryce.

Stillé: *Studies in Mediæval History.*

Adams: *Civilization During the Middle Ages.* A thoughtful presentation of the great conceptions of the period.

Poole: *Illustrations of Mediæval Thought.* Very important.

Gregorovius: *The City of Rome in the Middle Ages.* 10 vols. Of the greatest value.

Döllinger: *Historical Addresses.* Especially the articles on the Pope and the Universities.

Rashdall: *History of Universities in the Middle Ages.* 2 vols. A very complete and satisfactory discussion. All previous works in English will need to be modified by this work.

Taylor: *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages.* Very important.

Milman: *History of Latin Christianity.*

Moeller: *History of the Christian Church. Middle Ages.* Of great importance.

Hardwick: *Church History. Middle Ages.*

Workman: *The Church of the West in the Middle Ages.* 2 vols. An interesting popular treatment. *The Dawn of the Reformation,* by the same author, has just appeared (1901).

Banks: *The Development of Doctrine.* Early Middle

Ages to the Reformation. A continuation of the author's work cited in the ancient period.

General Characteristics of the Middle Ages.

There are no violent breaks with the past. The stream of history moves on with many deviations and divisions, but the chain of cause and effect remains unbroken. The seeds sown in the ancient period bear their legitimate fruit—good and bad—in the mediæval period.

Philosophically and theologically the Middle Age is dominated by scholasticism, which runs to seed near the end of the period.

Ecclesiastically the papacy reaches its zenith in Gregory VII. and Innocent III., and begins to decline in Boniface VIII., whose unfortunate reign is followed by the Babylonian Captivity of the church, and by the Great Schism—from the effects of which the Roman Church has never been able fully to rally. It is during this period, too, that the final schism between the eastern and western churches took place in 1054. Politically and socially the mediæval era was one of momentous events. It was the age of Feudalism, Chivalry and the Crusades. It was also a time when great affinities struck—Greek, Roman and Barbarian met and combined—and the result was the establishment of national states, as England, France, Germany, Spain; and of modern civilization with all its diversity in unity.

In Christian life and worship there was a general decay of intelligence and piety, but there were also many and unmistakable manifestations of reformatory spirit, as shown in the new monastic orders, in the

revival of learning, and in such heroes as Dante, Wiclif, Hus, and Savonarola.

It is to be observed, too, that there is a general shifting of interest during this period from the east to the west. This is true both in politics and religion.

CHAPTER II

FROM GREGORY THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE GREAT

(590 814)

A. Church and State

A. IN THE WEST

As far back as 375 the northern peoples began to migrate and invade the Roman Empire. They overran the entire west, and in 476 the western line of emperors came to an end. By the opening of the sixth century we find the Ostrogoths settled in Italy, the Franks in Gaul, the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, the Visigoths in Spain, and the Vandals in northern Africa.

From the Anglo-Saxons in Britain and the Franks in Gaul momentous consequences are to follow both in church and state.

The conversion of the Frankish king, Clovis, was a decisive event for western civilization. He laid the foundations for what afterwards became the empire of Charles the Great—an empire out of which were to come the chief nations of modern Europe, and the great political, economic, religious, social and legal ideas that were to control the Middle Ages. For some time the Frankish dominion continued to grow, but the fatal principle of division which was introduced after the death of Clovis, 511, more and more

called out the savagery of his descendants. And by the middle of the sixth century the Merovingians entered upon a rapid course of decay and decline. The story of the treachery and crimes of this period as impersonated in the queens Fredegonde and Brunhilde is one of the dreariest pages in history. The power gradually passed from the weak kings to their prime ministers, who were known as Mayors of the Palace, and finally in 751, with the sanction of Pope Stephen, Pippin the Short assumed the crown, and we have the beginning of the Carlovingian dynasty. The new king was consecrated with holy oil, as David had been anointed in taking the place of Saul. From this time on the Frankish king is a faithful son of the church—"king by the grace of God."

A period of 324 years had passed between the abdication of Romulus Augustulus and the coronation of Charles. During most of this time Rome was in ruins and almost desolate. Her population was reduced to fifty thousand. She seemed left to the mercy of internal strife and the ruthless invader. But yet her influence remained. Men could not forget what she had been and what she had done. Her bishops were men of ability and integrity, and to them men looked for guidance in both secular and religious affairs. The political interest centered chiefly in Constantinople. The breach between the two cities steadily widened. Rome soon learned that when sorely pressed she could expect no help from that source.

All these circumstances led the popes to rely upon themselves, and so by the very nature of the situation they were forced into secular matters. Thus there imperceptibly grew up at Rome a little nucleus of

sovereignty. It was not long until the pope was practically king of Rome and the adjacent territories.

About 568 the Lombards began to make their way into Italy. Their conquest of the peninsula was never complete, but by the middle of the eighth century, just when the pope was helping Pippin to the crown of the Franks, the Lombards had conquered most of Italy with the exception of some of the larger cities. They were already beginning to encroach upon the papal dominion.

The pope had already called in vain for help upon Charles Martel, but now in great distress he called upon Pippin, to whom he had rendered so signal a service. This time the call is not in vain. Pippin goes twice into Italy, and the second time donates to the pope his conquests from the Lombards. This donation included the Exarchate of Ravenna. The pope now became sovereign from sea to sea, and we have the papal states substantially as they remained until 1870.

The way had now been prepared by Charles Martel and Pippin for decisive steps in the way of expansion, Christianization, and consolidation. When Charles the Great came to the throne in 768 he rapidly advanced on all the lines indicated north, south, east and west, until his dominions practically coincided with the western Roman Empire.

When the Lombards again troubled the papal dominions, Charles subdued them, put the iron crown upon his own head, and confirmed the donation made by Pippin. He sought to overcome the centrifugal tendencies in his empire by sending out every year all through his dominions traveling representatives, two and two, whose business was to hear

evidence, render decisions, and report to himself. This conception of *Missi Dominici* went through Normandy into England and ultimately developed into the circuit court.

It was now perfectly evident that the western empire had been revived. Pope Leo III. was quick to see the new situation. He wished to come into still closer connection with a man of such powers. Perhaps, too, he was moved by a feeling of gratitude for all the favors he had received from Charles. Accordingly on Christmas Day, 800, while Charles was kneeling at prayer in St. Peter's church, the pope placed the crown upon his head. Thus the western empire was restored, and the continuity of the Cæsars was resumed.

At the moment all seemed harmonious between church and state. But very soon it became evident that the union was not perfect. Charles proposed to be master at least of his own actions. Differences gradually arose as to whether emperor or pope should be first. Thus gradually the conflict between church and empire that was to run through the Middle Ages began. In this conflict the church gradually encroached upon the state until the zenith was reached under Innocent III., 1198.

The empire established by Charles could not endure as an empire. It was, however, one of those decisive events in history which gather up and conserve elements that were in danger of being dissipated and lost. It is difficult to see how, without this particular work of Charles, the subsequent course of history could have been what it was. That this course involved many evil consequences in its train cannot be denied. But no forward step is ever taken in history without evil consequences. Yet these turn out in the long run to

be incidental. So we think that providential leading is seen as much in the founding of the Frankish kingdom, and the revival of the western empire, as in any chapter of what is called church history.*

B. THE EAST

LITERATURE

Bury: *The Later Roman Empire.* 2 vols.
Oman: *Byzantine Empire.*

We have already seen how the freedom of the church was imperilled from the time of Constantine. Justinian (527-565) was not only a great emperor but he was also a theologian, and he almost absolutely controlled church and state.† After the death of Justinian the emperors tried to retain all his ecclesiastical prerogatives.

B. Church Extension

LITERATURE

MacClear: *History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages.*
Smith, George: *Short History of Missions.*
Smith, T.: *Mediæval Missions.*
Walsh: *Heroes of the Mission Field.*
Neander: *History of Christian Church.* See especially "Missions to the Teutons."
Workman: *Church of the West.* Chapter on "The Winning of the Heathen," Vol. I.
Smith, J. Gregory: *Boniface.*

*For information on Charles the Great see: **Einhard**: *Life of Charles the Great.* **Mombert**: *Charles the Great.* **Cutts**: *Charlemagne.* **Hodgkin**: *Charles the Great.* **Wells**: *Charlemagne.* **Davis**: *Charlemagne.*

†See **Hutton**: *Church in Sixth Century.*

During the entire mediæval period there was need of missionary activity. Christianity had not held its own even where it had been most deeply rooted. Corruption had crept in and many of the churches in Italy and Gaul had degenerated. Their leading members were guilty of many vices. The churches themselves needed missionaries.

We are to note, too, an important change of method during the mediæval period. We have seen how in the ancient period Christianity spread, after the Apostolic Age, mainly from individual to individual, and how each individual became a center and source of light, and how the Christians were rather widespread than numerous.

But in the mediæval period attention is given to the conversion of nations. Beginning with Gregory the Great, missionary effort becomes more and more organized. We accordingly begin to hear of missions to the English, to the Germans, and so on.

Again, in the earliest years of the church the heathen were approached with the simple message of the Gospel, as preached by the Lord and His disciples. But now the great doctrinal controversies have been waged, Nicæa, and Constantinople, and Chalcedon have spoken, and the heathen are approached with a definite system of doctrine and with ecclesiastical machinery.

But Christianity and the new civilization to whose formation it had contributed so much were seriously threatened by the conquests of the Saracens. They were encroaching on the east and the south and the west. They were decisively driven back by Charles Martel at Tours in 732. But they established themselves in Spain, Northern Africa, and Asia Minor, and remained a perpetual menace.

Moreover the conversion and assimilation of the barbarians was a very difficult undertaking.

All these obstacles, internal and external, had to be met and overcome by a Christianity which had departed very far from the example and precepts of its Founder.

But while darkness seems to have settled down over the western world, there was one bright spot—"The Island of the Saints." In Ireland the life of the early faith lived on. Armagh had become a great intellectual and spiritual center. From the days when Patrick flourished—about 440—the cloisters which he established had multiplied and spread their influence, which was to last through the Middle Ages and extend far and wide. The Irish church was independent. There is no positive evidence that it ever had any vital connection with Rome—it rather seems to have lacked the organization that Rome would have given to it.*

A. THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH

The Roman mission to the Anglo-Saxons took place in 596. It resulted in the establishment of the Roman church which later came into conflict with the Celtic church. This conflict ended with a complete victory of the Roman church at the synod of Whitby—664. The Celtic church was absorbed.

In rapid succession Kent, Essex, Wessex, Sussex, East Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia were converted. England was "Romanized," but did not in every case submit to Rome.

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*See **Finlay:** *Ireland and the Irish.* **Healey:** *The Ancient Irish Church.* **Sanderson:** *The Story of St. Patrick.* **Wright:** *The Writings of St. Patrick.* **Cathcart:** *Ancient British and Irish Churches—Life and Labors of St. Patrick.*

B. THE CONVERSION OF GERMANY

We have seen how Ireland became the center of learning and devotion, and how the Irish church was finally overcome in Britain by the Roman church. But the first missionaries to the Germans went from Ireland.

Columbianus (540-615) with a company of monks went into Gaul. Here he came into conflict with the easy-going Christianity of the Franks. His rigid conception of life was not acceptable to the Burgundian count. Hence he proceeded to Zurich, and thence to Bregenz in Switzerland. His success here was little better. At last he found himself in Italy. Later on his pupil Gallus founded the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland.

Friesland was entered by another band of Irish monks, led by Willibrord, an Englishman—657-741. He appears not to have been very successful. His labors resulted only in the establishment of a bishopric connected with Rome at Utrecht.

These earlier attempts prepared, in some sense, the way for Winifred, known best as Boniface. He was born in Devonshire, England—680. He had flattering prospects of a brilliant career in the church at home. But he chose the harder way of a missionary to the Germans.

His first labors were in conjunction with Willibrord in Friesland. A little later he went to Rome. Here he was instructed in the forms of the church and in ecclesiastical law. Armed with a commission from the pope, he returned to his field prepared for more intelligent and aggressive work. Through the pope's influence he had the protection of Charles Martel. His permanent work was done in Thuringia, Upper

Hesse, and Bavaria. He at last returned to Friesland, where he received the martyr's crown in 755.

Among his most distinguished disciples were Gregory of Utrecht and Sturm of Fulda, the founder of the monastery of Fulda.

It will be observed that his missionary labors extended over a large territory.

Through Boniface the German church was permanently connected with Rome. During his long life he maintained a spotless purity of character, yielding in no respect to the corruptions of his age.*

C. Mohammed

LITERATURE

Irving: *Mahomet and the Saracens.* 2 vols.

Renan: *Mahomet and the Origin of Islam.*

Muir: *Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Hegira.* 4 vols.

Freeman: *History and Conquest of the Saracens.*

La Beaume: *Le Koran.*

Palmer: *The Koran.* English.

We have already seen that while the missionaries in the west were busy building and extending the kingdom a new foe arose in the east, and threatened the destruction of all Christendom. This dangerous adversary was Mohammedanism. It arose among the Arabs, a people full of energy, highly imaginative, and facile in speech. For centuries they had been under the influence of Judaism, and they had seen considerable of Christianity in its corrupted forms existing in Arabia. This furnished a good soil and climate for

*See **Hauck**: *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands.* Bk. I, pp. 381-546. This is a masterly review of the missionary activity of the Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany and their relations to Rome.

the development of a new prophet. He came in the person of Mohammed, who was born of the stock of Ishmael about 570. He was mystical, contemplative, imaginative, solitary, courageous. He suffered from epileptic fits, and this may in part account for the vividness of his imagination. He seems very early to have had an impression that he was to be a great reformer.

His doctrines were syncretistic—Jewish, Christian, with additions of his own. They have their strength as well as their weakness. Their strength is seen in the emphasis which is put on the unity and infinite sublimity of God, and their utter abhorrence of all forms of idolatry.

But the dependence of man upon God is so absolute that at a later stage it developed into a complete fatalism. The necessary consequence of this doctrine is the discouragement of thrift, effort and enterprise.

The monotheism is so extreme as to make the separation of God and man infinite. There is thus no basis for the Christian doctrine of the divinity and incarnation of Christ. The love of God made manifest to men is therefore out of the question.

Islam's doctrine has no place for the brotherhood of man—instead it inspires race hatred.

Its polygamous teaching destroys the family and undermines the foundations of society. Mohammed allowed himself eleven wives, while to his disciples he allowed but four.

That civilization owes much to the Saracenic cultivation of learning will be admitted by all. But when the most liberal recognition has been shown to Mohammedanism the verdict of history must ever be that desolation has followed in its train.

D. The Growth of Centralization

The movement towards centralization which advanced so far during the ancient period continued in the mediæval period until it reaches its climax. Several new impulses historical and personal come in between the sixth and ninth centuries to hasten the process so well begun.

Among these are:

A. THE DECLINE OF THE METROPOLITANS

The lower orders of the clergy objected to the dictations of superiors who were near them, but very willingly recognized the authority of someone who was far away. This led them to be obedient to the legates of the pope. This is seen especially among the Franks. Perhaps the best illustration is the case of Boniface the missionary, who "strenuously resisted every act of interference in the spirit of the Frankish prelates; but in other parts he labored from the first to organize the metropolitan system, and to use it as the special instrument of Rome."

B. THE SARACENIC CONQUESTS

We can easily understand how the encroachments of the crescent would unite the followers of the cross. The west was able to maintain itself in the face of its enemy, although oftentimes the situation was very serious. This led to more perfect organization, and more complete centralization. Naturally the pope was regarded as the head of western Christendom.

But the east was unable to stand against the invaders. Most of the eastern patriarchates were overrun and ruined. And so the great patriarchs who were silenced

by the Saracens were at the same time shorn of their power to oppose the designs of the pope. We thus see how directly and indirectly the conquests of the Saracens contributed to the growth of centralization.

C. GREGORY THE GREAT (590-604)

This remarkable man had a great diversity of gifts. He was fiery, zealous, charitable, quick to discern the tendencies of his times and to use them. He had, besides, administrative ability of a high order. Through this splendid combination of gifts and qualifications he gathered up into himself the lines of history and determined the future course of the papacy.

Consciously or unconsciously, he was controlled by the idea that the authority of Peter was universal. He was the successor of Peter, and he was consequently the source of all authority. Without making himself offensive, he practically succeeded in acquiring almost universal dominion. And yet, out of respect for his colleagues he refused to be called Œcumenical Bishop. Instead he chose "with shrewd humility" to be called the "servant of the servants of God"—*servus servorum Dei.* He had a perfectly clear conception of his duties: "To hold the metropolitans in dependence on the Roman see, to restore the rights of the bishops, to crush heresy and schism, to revive the spiritual life of the church, to make monasticism an effectual instrument of good, to send the Gospel to the barbarous heathen; these were some of his aims, these were some of the duties, he conceived, of the successor of Peter" (**Kellett**: *Gregory the Great*, quoted by Workman, pp. 17-19).

D. HADRIAN I. (772-795)

After the death of Gregory one hundred and fifty years passed without great progress in centralization. A long list of thirty-three popes followed, some of them in quick succession. But Hadrian I. takes a decisive step. He was the first to claim, in 782, that the apostolic see was the head of all the world and of all the churches of God. This claim continued to be resisted by the eastern patriarchs—but it became more generally accepted in the west.*

E. THE CORONATION OF CHARLES

We are to remember that Pope Leo III. was temporal ruler of Rome, and claimed to be the primate of all Christendom. In the act of coronation he resumed a right that since 476 had been relegated to the new capital in the east. As long as Charles lived the pope remained outwardly subservient. But the moment his strong hand relaxed its grasp the discordant elements asserted themselves, and in the midst of the confusion the papacy came forth and established itself as the center of the states-system of the west. And this met with a favorable response in the aspiration for universal brotherhood which men had learned from Christianity.

E. Doctrinal Developments and Controversies

During most of the seventh and eighth centuries the Bible continued to occupy a central position of authority and reverence. "It was the treasury of supernatural wisdom and the foundation of religious

*Hardwick, pp. 40-41.

truth." It was expected that those who could read would investigate it. No one, as was later the case, could expect to enter holy orders without an extensive knowledge of the Bible.

A. THE STATE OF THEOLOGY IN THE WEST*

It has already been observed that Augustinianism as opposed to Pelagianism was not completely accepted in the west. Hilary of Arles mildly protested. John Cassianus, the founder of the cloister of Marseilles, was a vigorous dissenter. Predestination was probably caricatured by an anonymous writer in the work called *Prædestinatus*. Out of this opposition arose what is known as Semi-Pelagianism—or what might with almost equal propriety have been called "Semi-Augustinianism." These lines of opposition converged in Gregory the Great. The theology of Gregory is learned from his thirty-five books of *Moralia*, founded on the Book of Job, and his forty *Homilies* on the Gospels, and his *Letters*. As we have seen, Gregory was a great organizer and administrator. But in theology he did not have a creative mind. What he taught he had learned, and what he had learned he had not been able fully to digest and assimilate. He stood at an important turning-point in theological development. He was the connecting link of the ancient and mediæval periods. He was the last of the Church Fathers, but hardly the first of the scholastics. The period for close theological investigation and definition—for the interpretation of the fathers, and the determination of the relation of theology to philosophy—although near at hand, had not yet arrived.

*See **Loofs**: *Leitfaden*. pp. 244-248.

The field of theology and philosophy was already bounded. But cultivation within the boundaries was yet to take place.

The basis of Gregory's theology was Augustinian. This is seen in his exalted conception of God and His all-holy attributes; in his conception of the power and destructiveness of evil; and in that of man's utter helplessness to do anything for his own salvation. Gregory insisted, too, on internal holiness, without which no forms or outward exercises could avail anything. But yet he "drops the idea of a grace that is irresistible, and of a freedom that is totally lost." Many of Augustine's suggestions become positive teachings. There is a tendency on all sides to externalism, and while the later ages inherited the ecclesiastical vestment of Augustine, his spirit fell back.

The principal controversy of the period was that of Adoptionism. This controversy began in the latter part of the eighth century. The Archbishop of Toledo, Elipandus, was engaged in a controversy with Migetius—and in this controversy had been led to put special emphasis "in the person of Christ to the distinction between the eternal Son of God, and His human appearance." He was attacked for his position, and accused of reviving Nestorianism.

The position of Elipandus was that "Christ is a son by nature only in His divine nature; according to His human nature, on the other hand, He was a son by adoption." As pushed by his enemies, his doctrine amounted to a denial of the incarnation.

Adoptionism was condemned at Ratisbon, 792; Frankfort, 794; Aachen, 799; Rome, 800. It finally died out.

B. THEOLOGY IN THE EAST

Here should be noticed the revival of some of the old Christological controversies of the preceding period —as Monophysitism and Monothelitism.

a. John of Damascus

LITERATURE

Lupton: *St. John of Damascus.*
Seeberg: *Lehrbuch.* Vol II, pp. 231-4.
Loofs: *Leitfaden*, pp. 184-188.
Harnack: *Hist. of Dogma.* Index.

Although theological interest is beginning to wane in the east there are still many evidences of activity, as is seen in such men as Moschus, Climacus, Sophronius, and Maximus the Confessor—all early in the seventh century.

But the eighth century had one distinguished representative in John of Damascus. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it was not far from 700. His father held an office under the caliph. He also for a while was an officer in the Mohammedan service. But he finally went to the monastery of St. Sabas, from which he sent forth his numerous writings. His most important work was his *Source of Knowledge*—πήγη γνώσεως.

"To a certain extent it was the gathering together of the outcome of patristic theology, and in its arrangement significant for the development which the latter had followed. Book I, philosophico-dialectical, gives the logical definitions which were to pass into the service of dogmatics; heathen wisdom, which is to serve truth as female slaves a king. Aristotle, Porphyry, and Ammonius are here the guides who have long been in the service of the church. Book II con-

tains a history of heresy on the basis of the knowledge supplied by the older Greek heresiologists. Book III, a presentation of the church's doctrinal belief, according to the testimony of the most eminent fathers, especially the Greeks, but also of one of the Latins, especially on account of his participation in the Christological conflicts. In the arrangement of the matter the example of Theodoret may be recognized" (**Moeller**: Vol. II, p. 24).

In John of Damascus we find the starting-point of eastern scholasticism. His influence on western scholasticism can hardly be doubted.

b. The Iconoclastic Controversy

The worship of images is a perversion of a principle which in itself is good. Pictures and images have always been useful in the instruction of children. The simple and unlettered are by their use often made to understand where otherwise it would be impossible. Even the educated find themselves constantly striving to express their ideas in concrete form. Besides, pictures and images have a use in exciting devotion.

Nothing, then, is better established than the psychological basis of image worship or even of idolatry. The difficulty, then, lies not in the use but the abuse of pictures and images. Following this natural and proper instinct of human nature through the first six centuries of our era,the highly imaginative and sensuous Greeks had often fallen into a blind and superstitious worship of images and pictures of saints. In the west it was claimed that the custom had not been abused.

The exciting cause of the controversy was the taunts of the Mohammedans and Jews, who claimed that the

Christians had fallen into idolatry. The Emperor Leo was greatly incensed by these taunts, and determined to remove the occasion for them.

The result was two edicts. The first, 726, forbade kneeling before images and pictures. This edict was strongly resisted. John of Damascus appeared as a doughty champion of images. His *Three Orations* were called out by the controversy. The principal arguments are contained in the first.*

The second edict came out in 730. It went much farther than the first and proscribed images, and doomed them to unsparing demolition. The cross alone was excepted. This edict was received with no favor whatever at Rome. A serious controversy arose and spread over a wide area. It was finally settled at the second council of Nicæa in 737. The decision is as follows:

"Bowing and honorable adoration should be offered to all sacred images; but this external and inferior worship must not be confounded with the true and supreme worship which belongs exclusively to God."

Shortly after the council, Charles the Great made an elaborate reply to the positions taken, and the reply became known as the Caroline Books—*Libri Carolini.*

The official title of the work ran as follows: "The work of the illustrious Charles, king of the Franks, against the foolish and presumptuous resolutions of a Greek synod in favor of image-worship."

c. The Controversy Concerning the "Filioque"

Through the influence of Augustine the equality of the three persons in the Trinity became an accepted doctrine of the western church. In accordance with

*For outline see **Neander,** Vol. V, p. 286.

this doctrine at the third council of Toledo, 589, the expression *filioque* was added to the creed of Nicæa and Constantinople.

But in the eastern church, while the consubstantiality of the Son was firmly held, His subordination to the Father was fully maintained. Here, then, would be the basis for a controversy. It arose when western monks in Jerusalem sang the creed with *filioque* added. This meant that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father *and the Son*, but not from the Father alone.

Charles the Great approved of the addition—Leo III. seems to have vacillated—but the addition remained.

*d. The Paulicians**

The Paulicians originated about the middle of the seventh century, and gave much trouble to the eastern church. The founder of the Paulicians was Constantine. It was charged that their doctrine was syncretistic and dualistic. They probably descended from the Marcionites. They rejected the Old Testament as the work of the Demiurge, who, in opposition to the good God, is the creator and lord of the world. He also made the human body out of matter, which is the source of all evil. Thus the soul of man has been imprisoned in the body. The Redeemer, apparently born of the Virgin Mary, came in a heavenly body, and seemed to die on the cross for the redemption of man.

They were also accused of being Manichæans—and they have resemblances. But they denied any such relationship.

They rejected all outward means of grace, such as

*See **Conybeare**: *Key of Truth.*

baptism and the Lord's Supper, and especially the later developments of Sacramentarianism.

The Paulicians were severely persecuted, but they made many converts, and divided into many sects which continued into the ninth century, after which they disappear.

These views of the Paulicians will probably have to be modified in the light of *The Key of Truth.* Possibly the editor and commentator betrays somewhat of the zeal of the specialist. He says: "The Paulician church was not the national church of any particular race, but an old form of the apostolic church, and it included within itself Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, Africans, Latins, and various other races. Finding refuge in southeastern Armenia when it was nearly extirpated in the Roman empire, it there nursed its forces in comparative security, under the protection of the Persians and Arabs, and prepared itself for that magnificent career of missionary enterprise in the Greek world which the sources relate with so much bitterness."

F. Christian Thought and Literature

A. Schools

Literature

Mullinger, J. B.: *The Schools of Charles the Great.*

Rashdall: *The History of Mediæval Universities.* Earlier chapters.

Mombert: Chapter on the "Schools of Charles."

Werner: *Alcuin.*

Sickel: *Alcuinstudien.*

The connection with ancient Greek and Roman culture was never entirely broken, although it ebbed very low. But when Charles became king of the Franks

with the true intuitions of a statesman he saw the necessity for schools and culture. He at the beginning had little that could be called literary culture, but he set to work with his characteristic energy to acquire it and diffuse it among his people. When culture was at its lowest ebb it lived on in individuals such as Isidore of Seville, and in the Irish convents. Accordingly, when Charles began his search for leaders he was able to find such men as Peter of Pisa, and Paul the Deacon, and Alcuin. Peter was a grammarian, Paul became the soul of all efforts for the promotion of learned and theological culture in the Frankish kingdom." Alcuin became "the center of the circle of humanistic excitement which rejoiced over the attainment of skill in Latin versification, and took pleasure in literary correspondence. In 787 Charles commanded all bishops and abbots to erect cathedral and monastic schools—the scientific instruction in which was to have its main object in theology, the exposition of Biblical Scriptures." Thus we have a revival of learning. Tried by modern standards it would of course not stand the test. Neither Alcuin nor Paul shows much originality, and it has been suggested that we ought not to inquire too closely into Charles's knowledge of Latin. But in many respects this renaissance is like the later Renaissance of the fifteenth century. Both met the necessities of their ages—and made invaluable contributions to the succeeding ages.

B. VERNACULAR TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

It will be readily seen how the barbarian invaders, with their different languages and dialects, overrunning the Roman provinces, would cause a veritable

confusion of tongues. In many cases they neglected their own languages and learned Latin—and this resulted in a debasement of the Latin. But where they did not learn Latin the clergy found it necessary to learn the language of those to whom they preached. The need was at once felt of vernacular translations of the Bible, and efforts were made to meet this urgent need. The difficulties were of course almost insuperable.

See Page 119.

The pioneer in this work was Ulfilas, back in the fourth century, c. 313-388, whose "translation of the Bible was the foundation of the Christian civilization of the Goths and the foundation stone of German literature."

An impulse was probably given to Bible translation among the English by Caedmon, 680. The stories about his paraphrases are extremely doubtful if taken in their amplification.

But an eminent representative of Christian culture arose in Baeda, 673-735. It is certain that he translated the Gospel of John. He also wrote *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, which is our principal source for the Anglo-Saxon church. He has been called, also, the father of English national education.

Another of these early translators is Aldholm, who died 709. He translated the Psalms.

It seems probable that there were many other productions of a similar nature but that they were destroyed by the incursions of the Danes.

C. LIVES OF SAINTS

It is natural when a good man dies to magnify his strong points and minimize his weak ones. He thus becomes an example to be followed, as well as a source

of spiritual instruction. In a highly imaginative and uncritical age this disposition may lead to evil consequences. It was so in our period.

The impulse was especially given by Gregory of Tours, who died in 593. The number of lives of the saints was very large. They were often written in the vernacular. They were very widely read, and their influence can hardly be estimated. While upon the whole this influence seems to have been good, the saints were so embellished and made so perfect that they became objects of a lower kind of worship.

As the number of saints increased, veneration developed. This veneration extended to relics, and later on it reached the utmost limit of extravagance.

The first instance of canonization by the pope is, according to some, the case of Swibert, about 800. According to others it was the case of Ulrich, Archbishop of Augsburg, 993.*

It would be untrue to say that among the more intelligent these dangers were not seen, and that efforts were not made to keep the masses within proper bounds. For instance, Charles the Great issued in 779 a capitulary, *De pseudographiis et dubiis narrationibus*, to withstand the superstitions of his age—e. g., the baptizing of bells.

But all these facts go to show what is the general stream of tendency.

G. Christian Life

In harmony with the general tendency and spirit of the age we find a great development of festivals. The festival of the Assumption originated in a spurious legend. It was said that the apostles assembled at the

*See **Hardwick**, p. 90, n.

deathbed of Mary and that they saw her carried away to heaven by a band of angels. Other festivals were those of the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Ascension of the Lord, and All Saints. This last is usually assigned to this period, but it was used long before by the Christians of the east.

Monasticism in this period still in the main held its own. The Benedictines especially had become models for all the west, and were exceedingly popular. They were industrious. Trackless forests were turned into gardens and fields. Many of their establishments became centers near or around which important cities grew up.

They were also great missionaries, and they were the conservators of learning in a wild and lawless age. In their private lives they maintained a good degree of strictness.

But we have already seen that the Christianity of this period has departed very far from the original, and on the whole the decline continues rapidly. Superstition and legalism have intrenched themselves. Men have less concern about the inward condition of the heart—and are controlled more and more by the outward and physical. As manifestations of this decline we have penances, indulgences, masses for the dead, ordeals, pilgrimages and confession.

Exactly in line with these new or enlarged developments we have to mention an ignorant and immoral clergy. The way is thus prepared for an appalling degeneration in the next two periods.

Yet, when we have admitted it all, we take courage in the fact that there are still many individuals whose abilities are of the highest order, whose characters and lives are absolutely pure. These men shine as bright

lights in the general darkness, and if they apparently do not have much influence they at least stem the tide and save the ship from utter destruction until evil begins to work its own cure. Such men were Aidan, Gregory, Eligius, Baeda and Alcuin.*

H. English Church History

LITERATURE

Wakeman: *History of the Church of England.* A very able outline covering the whole ground from the High Church point of view.

Cutts: *Turning Points in English Church History.* Point of view same as Wakeman.

Hague: *Church of England before the Reformation.* From the Low Church point of view.†

Rannie: *Historical Outlines of the English Constitution.*

A. THE BRITISH CHURCH (200-597)

It is not known when or how Christianity was introduced into Britain. There are numerous legends. One is that Paul visited the island. The probabilities are that about the opening of the third century it was planted there by some unknown person.

At first the bishops were equal; the sees were gradually grouped into provinces, and the provinces into patriarchates. The British church seems to have come considerably under Arian and Pelagian influ-

*The student, for an exhaustive discussion of the church life of the mediæval period, will go to **Lea's** monumental works on *The History of Confession and Indulgences*, and *The History of Sacerdotal Celibacy.*

†For interesting reviews of Wakeman and Hague by **Dean Hulbert** of the University of Chicago, see *American Journal of Theology*, Vols. I and II.

ences. But in 449 occurred the beginning of the English conquest of Britain.*

B. THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH (597-655)

When the English came into Britain they brought with them their heathen worship, and their political institutions. Their gods were numerous, but their chief god was Wodin.

In 597 the missionary Augustine landed in England and established himself at Canterbury, which has ever since been the seat of the Primate of all England. As the Romish mission in England grew, it soon came into conflict with the Celtic church. After a long and spirited conflict Rome completely won the day.

C. THEODORE OF TARSUS

This great man was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 668. He became the first Primate of all England. He set up the ecclesiastical system that in outward form and with some modifications has continued to our own times. The system was as follows:

1. Two Archbishoprics of Canterbury and York.
2. Bishoprics or dioceses, about sixteen in number. They were made conterminous with the kingdoms and tribes, and remained after these had disappeared.
3. Parishes corresponding to townships.
4. Later on Archdeaconries and Deaneries corresponding to shires and hundreds were established.

The relations of church and state were from the first organic. The bishops were members of the assemblies and the Witenagemote.†

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*See **Gildas; Baeda;** and **Alexander:** *The Ancient British Church.*

†See **Rannie,** p. 19.

CHAPTER III

FROM CHARLES THE GREAT TO GREGORY VII. (HILDEBRAND)

(814–1073)

A. Church and State

The interest for this period lies almost entirely in the west. In the east there is a gradual decline of both church and state, but the state is supreme. In the west the church develops great strength, and the two central and conspicuous institutions about which all the movements of the Middle Ages are to cluster become prominent and imposing. These two institutions are the papacy and the empire. Between them a fierce battle is to be waged—uncertain at times, but upon the whole the church gradually prevails.

The sources of the income of the church are voluntary offerings, tithes, uniformly paid by Christians since the sixth century, and endowments. The proceeds from the endowments the emperor controlled, regarding them as "public loans." Not only so, but he conferred investiture upon all the nobility—spiritual as well as temporal. In the next period this is to become the issue of a picturesque controversy—Canossa.

The great events of the period are:

a. The partition of Verdun (843)

Charles the Great had united Roman, Teutonic and Christian elements into a strong empire, and during

his life he was able to maintain this union. But the moment he was gone the forces of disunion asserted themselves. Louis, although not perhaps so weak as commonly represented, was far weaker than Charles had been. His sons quarreled and fought among themselves. The result was the division of the empire at Verdun in 843 into three parts. The west became France, the east became Germany, the long middle strip extending from the North Sea to the Mediterranean became Italy on the south and the Low Countries on the north—and the bone of contention between France and Germany.

B. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE THEORY OF THE MEDIÆVAL EMPIRE

By this theory the church and state became two sides of the kingdom of God. This was a very imposing theory, but one which when reduced to practice brought no end of trouble and confusion in the succeeding centuries.

C. THE CORONATION OF OTTO THE GREAT (962)

This is usually regarded as the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, but it was really a revival of the broken empire of Charles with France left out, and with a more sharply defined theory. Men by nature are so wedded to tradition that they cannot easily throw off a great conception that has once ruled the world. Otto could not see that this step would destroy his government at home—and bring his successors into conflict with the papacy. But on the other hand it may be urged with much show of reason that Germany and Italy still in co-operation had a

further service to render to the world—and that the times were not yet ripe for complete separation.*

D. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF FEUDALISM

LITERATURE

Waitz: *Anfänge der Vassalität.*
De Coulanges: *Les Origines du Régime Féodal.*
Verschoyle: *History of Modern Civilization*, pp. 96-131.
Adams: *Civilization During the Middle Ages*, pp. 194-226.

The empire and the papacy are established and comparatively well-defined institutions. But another of the mediæval institutions to be far-reaching in its influence is feudalism. "Feudalism was the political and social system which, established in Europe in the ninth and eleventh centuries, was developed in the twelfth, shone with some brilliancy in the thirteenth and declined in the fourteenth. It was from this confused society that modern society developed itself" (**Verschoyle**, p. 97).

The empire of Charles the Great was first divided into three parts (843), then into seven, then into nine. In each of the states thus formed the process of dismemberment went on until the empire was pulverized, and "society became infinitely divided," and we have what is known as feudal society. It is thus evident that feudalism tended to disorganization, and to a form of society in which the physically strongest were brutally supreme. And so it did become a terrible method of tyranny in which the lower ranks of society were the chief sufferers. But taken in its larger relations, we are able to see that it contributed to the

*For the best short sketch of this period, see **Bryce**, *H. R. E.*, pp. 50-121.

growth of individualism; and that this individualism became a powerful agency in the contest that overthrew the papal monarchy; and that in the long run it saved the state from utter destruction.

On the whole, then, we can say that feudalism with all its barbarity was one of the stages through which civilization had to pass in making its weary way towards its goal.

E. CHIVALRY

LITERATURE

Froissart: *Chronicles.*

Mills: *History of Chivalry.* 2 vols. Old but valuable.

Leon Gautiér: *Chivalry.*

The essence of chivalry is found in its standard of honor in warfare, and in the high regard that the Teutonic peoples always manifested towards the female sex. It was closely connected with feudalism, and has been called its "brightest flower."

Chivalry had its great merits and its defects. Through it the leaven of Christianity worked itself into society, and the verdict of history must be that chivalry was one of the necessary stages through which the human spirit had to pass on its way toward freedom. When it had done its work it bequeathed a rich heritage to succeeding ages and succumbed to various adverse circumstances, among which were the shafts of ridicule which were aimed at it by Cervantes and a laughing world.

F. THE TRUCE OF GOD

This was a period of extreme lawlessness and violence. The private wars among princes and feudal lords knew no bounds. The church attempted to

supplement the weakness of the law. We have seen how the church worked indirectly through chivalry, but it also worked more directly. Synods made rules by which under penalty of excommunication the nobles were made to swear: "To strike no blow in a private quarrel, to attack no unarmed person, to permit no robbery or violence." This was known as the Peace of God—about 1026. But it was too thoroughgoing. It could not be enforced. But in 1031 we have the Truce of God. This important truce provided:

1. That there should be a cessation of all feuds "during church festivals, and from Wednesday evening to Monday morning in every week leaving only eighty days for war."

2. It marked the bounds of sanctuary around churches, convents and burying-grounds.

3. It forbade all injury to ecclesiastics, women or peasants.

4. In France it was proclaimed everywhere but in the county of Paris.

While the Truce of God was but imperfectly kept, it was a long step in advance. It was an instance, of which history is full, going to show that a half loaf is far better than no loaf at all.

B. Church Extension

A. In the Scandinavian Kingdoms

In 826 Harold Klak, king of Denmark, and his queen visited Louis the Pious, and were baptized at Mainz. The missionary spirit at once asserted itself, and a search was made for some one who had the Christian courage to carry the Gospel to Jutland and Sweden. The choice fell upon a young monk, Anskar of Corbie, near Amiens in France. He said: "When

I was asked whether I would go for God's name among the heathen to publish the Gospel, I could not decline such a call. Yes, with all my power I wish to go hence, and no man can make me waver in this resolution." Lovable in spirit and in many ways the exact opposite of Boniface, he was crowned with so much success that an archbishopric was created at Hamburg for the northern missions, and from this center he worked in all directions. The work which Anskar did advanced through many reverses until "in 1075 the public services of Thor and Odin were all absolutely interdicted by a royal order, and the cause of Christianity henceforth was everywhere triumphant." The conversion of Iceland took place about 1000, through the agency of Stefner.

B. THE CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS

The Slavic peoples at this time were the Moravians, the Bohemians, the Wends, the Russians, the Bulgarians, and some minor branches. At the beginning of our period they had remained in ignorance of the Gospel. The worthy enterprise of successfully converting them was undertaken by two monks of the Greek church—Cyril or Constantine and Methodius. As the division between the eastern and western churches was already far advanced at the opening of the ninth century, they got into trouble with Rome, and were seriously embarrassed in their labors. But all the Slavic peoples were finally brought into connection with the Greek communion.

These two missionaries began with the Moravians, and from the Moravians the Good News went to the Bohemians; and so through many reverses and disappointments the leaven spread through the whole lump.

✝ C. The Growth of Centralization

A. THE FALSE DECRETALS

Long prior to the middle of the ninth century, when the False Decretals appeared, Dionysius Exiguus (500) had made a codification of ecclesiastical laws. This collection contained all the papal decrees from Siricius, 384, and "the decrees of the general or œcumenical councils, and the most important canons of the provincial synods" (**Fisher**, 109).

His collection was followed by others up to the time of the appearance of the False Decretals. They had been of much service in the development of the hierarchy. But now an extraordinary collection is to be made. Decrees are to be cited reaching back to Clement III., Bishop of Rome, 68. With such an array of decrees arranged in the order of their proclamation—extending almost to the reputed founder of the Roman church—the hierarchy could remove all obstacles in a believing age. The causes that led to this collection are not well determined. That it was made partly in the interest of the hierarchy seems probable. But the view that it was done to afford a means of escape from the tyranny of local tribunals to a distant tribunal which could not give too much attention to details, and which would consequently be less inclined to interfere, has been urged with great cogency.

It is thought that this forgery was sent out over the name of Isidore of Seville by Autgar of Mainz and Ebbo of Rheims.

In an age such as ours it would have been detected at once. It was full of anachronisms and other errors which any critical scholar would have seen. But the

people of that age were unsuspecting, and the decrees were generally accepted as authoritative. They placed the pope at the summit of a graduated hierarchy. Questions too difficult to be settled by the subordinates were passed up to him, and his decision was final. Synods and councils might not interfere with his prerogatives. Papal bulls at once became canons of the church. The pope was to be the absolute dictator of the spiritual world.

This collection also contained the forged Donation of Constantine.

B. NICHOLAS I. (858-867)

Nicholas had high ideas of the position of the papacy. It was to him "the soul and center of the Christian Republic." His ability was large and well rounded, and his courage was equal to his ability and to his conception of the papacy. He was quick to see how the Decretals could be used with telling effect, and he did not hesitate to use them. Ideas of centralization, somewhat vague in the mind of Gregory, and even of Hadrian I., were perfectly clear and consistent in the mind of Nicholas I. He may have had some suspicion that the False Decretals were not all they claimed to be, but so great an end could not be lost by too scrupulous an examination into the means for attaining it.

As examples of his work we may note:

1. He brought Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, to his knees. Hincmar strongly opposed the extremely centralizing tendencies of his times, but his opposition availed nothing before a powerful pope like Nicholas.

2. Nicholas triumphed over Lothaire II., king of

Lorraine. Lothaire had put away his wife for the sake of a concubine. The struggle was a long one, and it taxed the courage and the strength of the pope to carry it to a successful issue. The victory was won only after the Emperor Louis had invaded Rome, broken up "the true cross" and killed the guard of St. Peter's tomb. But the result greatly redounded to the honor of the pope.

D. Doctrinal Controversies

A. In the West

The reign of Charles the Bald (840-877) was a time of some intellectual and theological activity. Charles was not in general a strong sovereign. But he sought to follow the lines laid down by his grandfather. After his death there came a decline which ended in barbarism.

Among the leading spirits of this reign were:

John Scotus Erigena

LITERATURE

Alice Gardner: *Studies in John the Scot—A Philosopher of the Dark Ages.* 1900.

Latta: *Scotus Erigena and His Epoch.*

The appearance and disappearance of this man have been properly described as meteoric. He came from one of the British Isles, most probably from Scotland. He was learned, brilliant, and by general agreement the most original thinker of his time. His most important work is entitled *De Divisione Naturæ*, and from this work it is possible to form a very accurate estimate of the man both as a scholar and as a thinker.

With Erigena the essence of philosophy and theology is identical. Nature is the sum total of exist-

ence, and its antithesis, non-existence. Nature manifests herself in four modes:

1. Nature creatress but not created. God the source of all.

2. Nature creatress but created. God's eternal thoughts as manifested through the Logos.

3. Nature created, not creating. The ideal and invisible world.

4. Nature neither created nor creating. God as the end toward which all things are tending and in which all things are ultimately to be absorbed.

These four divisions embody the universe—its origin, its process, its end. Erigena was a Neoplatonist of the first water, and the inevitable logic of his position is pantheism. Strenuous efforts have been made to show that Erigena's position was not pantheistic, as for instance **Mr. F. D. Maurice** in his *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, but they do not avail. The difference between Plato and Erigena is explained by the two words "copy" and "identity." Plato's individuals are copies of the divine ideas, whereas Erigena's individuals are identical with the divine ideas.

When the doctrines are applied to theology, the Christian doctrines of Sin, Incarnation, Redemption, and Everlasting Punishment are all destroyed.

Philosophically Erigena is to be classified as a realist, and he may in a very true sense be regarded as a forerunner of scholasticism.

But Erigena himself was truly a Christian, and in his life escaped what in a man not a Christian might have been the consequences of his doctrines.

He escaped charges for heresy, but in 1209 his writings were condemned at a synod in Paris.

Paschasius Radbertus and the Eucharistic Controversies

LITERATURE

Trench: *Mediæval Church History.* Lecture on the "Eucharistic Controversies of the Middle Ages."

Jacob: *The Lord's Supper Historically Considered.*

For centuries Christendom had been tending to the belief that the body and blood of Christ were literally present in the bread and wine. The materializing spirit of the age was such as to accelerate this tendency. In 831 Paschasius Radbertus formulated for a pupil what had become the belief and practice of the church in a work entitled *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini.* In 844 Radbertus was made abbot of Corbey. He then reissued the book and submitted it to Charles the Bold. Charles in his turn submitted it to Ratramnus, a monk of Corbey. Ratramnus made a severe criticism on the work, which appeared under the title *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini ad Carolum Calvum.* He held that the body and blood are present only *spiritualiter et Secundum Potentiam.*

While it is true that Paschasius had but given expression to the spirit of his times, it is also true that people are not always prepared to face this spirit when it is stated concretely. This "corporealizing of the faith," therefore, when clearly stated, was a violent shock to all the scholars of the age.

It cannot be truly said that Radbertus had taught the doctrine of transubstantiation. His word is *transfer*, not *transubstantiate*. And yet the distance between the two words is not very great.

A great controversy ensued in which the leading scholars of the day were called upon to express their opinions.

The tendency represented by Radbertus was checked for a time, but it was so completely in harmony with the whole movement of the age that it passed on into transubstantiation and finally prevailed throughout western Christendom. The controversy was renewed by Berengarius in the eleventh century. He opposed the doctrine of Radbertus, but after a long conflict he yielded and was compelled by a synod at Rome (1078) to confess as follows: "The bread and wine which are placed on the altar are, after consecration, not only the sacrament but also the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and it is in fact sensibly handled by the hands of the priests, broken and masticated by the teeth of the faithful."

Gottschalk and the Free-Will Controversy

LITERATURE

Robertson: *History of the Christian Church.* Vol. III, pp. 350-369.

We have seen the beginnings of the Pelagian controversy. The great questions raised in that contest were never fully settled. It is true that Augustine continued to be the standard theologian of the age. But there were the extremes of Semi-Pelagianism on the one hand and Hyper-Augustinianism on the other.

In the ninth century, 847-868, Gottschalk appeared. When he was transferred from Fulda to the monastery of Orbais he became a profound student of Augustine. The result was the rather common one that he went even beyond his master. He came out with the idea of double predestination—*gemina prædestinatio.* One predestination is to eternal life, the other is to eternal death. The purpose of Christ's death was not the salvation of all men. It was not God's will that

all men should be saved. By the Fall man's will was utterly undone—so far as any good act was concerned—but it was powerful in evil.

When Gottschalk attempted to propagate his views he stirred up Rabanus Maurus, who had been appointed to the see of Mainz. Rabanus exaggerated even the extreme positions of Gottschalk. He found not only *prædestinatio ad damnationem*, predestination to condemnation; but also *prædestinatio ad peccatum*, predestination to sin. His own position was that God would condemn only those whom He foreknew would be reprobate. God is in no sense the cause of sin.

This difference led to a bitter controversy in which the leading scholars of the time became involved. Among those who favored Gottschalk were Prudentius, Ratramnus, and Lupus. But Gottschalk was condemned at Mainz in 843, and at Quiercy in 849. He was cruelly scourged and sent to prison, where he remained until his death, having been in prison twenty years.

It is an interesting fact that in the ninth century there was one exegete who held that grammar and history are fundamental in interpretation. His name was Christian Druthmar, c. 850, and he was known as "the Grammarian."

B. IN THE EAST

The church sustains itself intellectually, but declines rapidly in earnestness and moral health. The principal event is the final schism between the eastern and western churches. This schism took place in 1054. The causes of the divergence were numerous and distributed over a long period of time. Among these causes we should note: Difference of temperament and

intellectual bias; the dispute over the *filioque*, or the procession of the Holy Spirit; the quarrel of Photius and Nicholas I.; slight and discontinuous intercourse for a century and a half. For all these reasons the east and the west gradually grew apart. At last in 1053 Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, peremptorily forbade the celebration of the Latin ritual in his province. He also attacked the western church. This aroused the papal legates, and they excommunicated Cerularius. He in turn anathematized them. This contest so long in preparing led to the final division in 1054. Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria adhered to Constantinople and the east.

E. Christian Life

The Christian life of this period is mainly a further development of what was given in the preceding period. It was consequently one of accelerated decline. After Nicholas I. the papacy descended to monstrous depravity. Exceptions, however, must be made in the cases of Gregory V. (996-999) and Sylvester II. (999-1003). Both of these popes were good men, and earnestly sought for the reformation of the papacy.

But the depths of degradation and pollution are too bad to contemplate. The situation has been described as "an Augean stable in which adultery and theft were among the virtues of an age addicted to more abominable and unnatural crimes. The iniquities of that time must be concealed in Latin; society to-day would not tolerate their translation." A picture of the age has been left us by Peter Damiani, the friend and co-worker of Hildebrand, in his book bearing the suggestive title of *Gomorrhianus*.

The monks, who had been so exemplary in the preceding periods, had yielded to the temptations of wealth and luxury, and the great religious orders, had fallen into decay.

But in the midst of the general corruption and degeneracy of the age there were many earnest souls who remained true and aggressive. Their efforts led to the founding of the abbey of Cluny. Its first abbot was Berno, 910. In this abbey there was a revival and enlargement of the rule of Benedict of Nursia. Through the labors of Berno, and his successor Odo, Cluny became a chief center and influenced all western Christendom.

CHAPTER IV

FROM GREGORY VII. TO THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

(1073–1305)

We have already seen the gradual growth of the hierarchy through several hundred years. Many causes have conspired to make this growth persistent and certain. Several of these causes have been mentioned. We are now to see the papacy reach its zenith in Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

A. Church and State

A. THE CONFLICT OF GREGORY VII. AND HENRY IV.

LITERATURE

Mathews: *Select Mediæval Documents*, pp. 35-60.
Bowman: *Gregory VII.* 2 vols.
Stephens: *Hildebrand and His Times.*
Vincent: *Age of Hildebrand.*
Voigt: *Hildebrand.*
Villemaine: *Histoire de Gregoire VII.*

All things are now prepared for a mighty struggle between the papacy and the empire. All the forces of the west are centered in these two powers. It is to be a struggle for supremacy. Politically the situation is inauspicious for the emperor, Henry IV. He had broken his promises to the Saxons, and robbed many nobles of their lands that he might give them to his own favorites. The result was that he could not depend upon his people in an emergency.

Religiously, as already observed, the condition was too bad to be reported to modern society. It was at this distressing moment that a great man arose from among the common people, found his way to the monastery of Cluny, and there prepared himself for the rôle he was to play in church and empire. He clearly saw the needs of the age, and for a long time he was the hidden power of the papacy. He resolutely set himself to the reformation of society. To him there appeared to be two principal sources which had issued in the present state of the church and the clergy. The first was the emperor's custom of conferring feudal investiture upon the clergy. This practice led to simony, and simony was poisoning the fountains of spirituality. The second was a married clergy.

Now, Gregory had been trained in the Isidorean Decretals; he had had large experience in making and ruling popes; there was urgent present need of concentrated force if anything reformatory was to be accomplished; and he saw that Henry's vacillating and contradictory policy had alienated his subjects. He, moreover, confidently believed that God had raised him up to be a moral and religious reformer. All these causes combined to make him a very high churchman. He was not the man to hesitate in the face of obstacles. He determined to free the church from all semblance of state control. He accordingly issued a decree in which he condemned feudal investiture. Knowing Henry's weakness, as compared with King Philip I. of France, he sought to overcome him. This accomplished, "he would not only establish beyond dispute the principle on which he so earnestly insisted, that the pope, as viceroy of God, was above all earthly rulers—the emperor and the king who

claimed the right to be crowned emperor, not less than all other sovereigns."

Henry treated Gregory's decree with contempt; he was summoned to Rome to answer to various charges. He then called a synod at Worms and deposed Gregory. Gregory then excommunicated Henry and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Henry sent a letter to: "Hildebrand, no longer pope, but a false monk." The letter closed as follows: "Let another ascend the chair of St. Peter who will not cloak violence with religion, . . . for I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all my bishops, say unto you, Get down! get down!"

Then followed the first excommunication, which begins as follows:

"Blessed Peter, first of the Apostles, incline, I beseech thee, thy pious ears to me, and hear me thy servant whom thou hast nourished from infancy, and even to this day hast liberated from the hand of wicked men, who have hated and do hate me for thy faithfulness" (**Mathews**, p. 44-45).

The course of events led on to the affair at Canossa in January, 1077. But the tide soon turned. Gregory was humiliated in various ways, and died at Salerno in 1085, saying: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

In his treatment of the married clergy Gregory was decisive and severe. He had an exalted ideal for the priesthood, and he could not be induced to depart from it one hair's-breadth. The clergy must be "detached from the world and worldly affairs." "This he considered the only efficient means of restoring among the clergy the moral purity of life which their state demanded." He, accordingly, in a synod

at Rome, 1074, "revived all the old decrees against incontinency, enjoining their observance under the severest penalties."

The married clergy were therefore denounced as concubinaries; the people were not allowed to go to them as confessors, or in any way to recognize them as religious teachers or advisers.

It is needless to say that Gregory met with the most resolute opposition from the married clergy, but this opposition availed little. In the main the pope had his way.

B. ESTIMATE OF GREGORY VII.

The twenty-seven propositions known as *Dictatus Hildebrandini* were set forth in 1075.* Whether they can justly be ascribed to Gregory or not, they express the policy that he pursued. Opinions as to the man and his work have differed very widely. Germany has never admitted his canonization, which took place in 1728. To the Gallicans of the court of Louis XIV. he was Antichrist. But that his was the greatest name in the annals of the papacy will hardly be questioned by any one. The papacy was in danger of becoming entirely dependent upon the empire, and of falling into hopeless decay. Gregory saved it, put new life into it, extended, and established its prerogatives, and marked out the way in which his successors should follow until the papacy should reach its zenith in Innocent III., 1198-1216.

But there are certain other results which are dimly seen in this reign, and which are later on to appear in the form of a new rival theory. Europe is beginning to have aspirations of great significance. It begins to

*See **Mathews**, pp. 37, 38.

be apparent that many demur at the pope's claim to excommunicate monarchs. To others it seems that the line should be drawn at his claim to dispossess a monarch of temporal jurisdiction. They were still willing to grant his supremacy in spiritual matters. There can be no doubt that we have here foreshadowings of the revolution that was to come in the sixteenth century.

C. THE CONCORDAT AT WORMS (1122)

In this agreement we come to the end of a conflict that has divided western Christendom for fifty years. The document furnishes a legal standard to which future differences may be appealed. It is not a complete victory for either side. It is rather a compromise in which the emperor gets the best of the bargain. The Emperor Henry V. gives up the right of investiture by ring and crosier, and grants to the church the free election of bishops and abbots. The pope, Calixtus II., grants that prelates shall be invested with the regalia by the king by means of the scepter.

D. INNOCENT III. AND THE CULMINATION OF PAPAL SUPREMACY

For almost a hundred years the papacy had developed strength in the lines laid down by Gregory VII. The empire had not been able to hold its own against its formidable antagonist. All things, temporal and spiritual, were preparing for the advent of some powerful pope who should crown the absolutism which had been slowly growing through the centuries. This pope came in the person of Innocent III., 1198-1216. His idea was that of a "theocracy embracing the whole world, in which the pope was to rule as the vicar of

God; and in the disputes of the princes, as well as in all other difficult state causes, to decide as supreme judge."*

Innocent does not mince matters, but he strikes the keynote when he says: "The vicegerent of Christ is less than God and more than man. God has given to St. Peter not only the government of the church, but the government of the world. The church is the sun, the empire is the moon shining with borrowed light."

He immediately puts his theory into practice.

1. He put France under an interdict (1199), because Philip Augustus put away his wife. Philip came to terms.

2. He excommunicated Otto IV., and absolved the allegiance of his subjects (1211), because he showed a spirit of independence. This excommunication combined with other causes led to Otto's retiring to private life.

3. He brought the haughty and dissolute King John of England to his knees—received his kingdom, and conferred it back on him as a fief in 1213.

But in England there came a reaction. The prelates and barons were uneasy between such a pope and such a king, and they forced Magna Charta from John (1215). The pope united with the king in a desperate effort to have it repealed. But the opportune deaths of both John and Innocent left a united people, and Magna Charta remained the fundamental law of the land.

4. Innocent established the duty of seeking out and punishing heretics. He thus became the founder of the infamous Inquisition. This institution began with Innocent's crusade against the Albigenses in southern

*See **Gieseler.** Vol. II, p. 299.

France. This crusade wound up with the utter destruction of the Albigenses. It nipped in the bud the promise and potency of French development; and the retarding influence was felt for centuries afterwards. This is seen, for example, in the destruction which it wrought in the commercial energy of France. Verily it "made a solitude and called it peace."

"Thus," says Dr. Fisher, "arose the Inquisition, which exercised its power with somewhat varying rules in different countries, but was one of the most terrible engines of intolerance and tyranny which human ingenuity has ever devised" (*H. C. C.*, p. 194).*

These facts go to show that Innocent III., during the eighteen years of his reign, carried matters both of state and of church with a high hand. But the papacy has now reached its culmination. Henceforth it is to experience decline and humiliation.

E. THE APPEARANCE OF A RIVAL THEORY

LITERATURE

Freeman: *Historical Essays.* First series, three essays, "The Holy Roman Empire"; "Frederick the First, King of Italy"; "The Emperor Frederick the Second."

Sullivan: "Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockam." *American Historical Review.* Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4. These articles minimize Dante's *De Monarchia.*

It is always true in the great movements of society which seem to be tending in one direction that reactionary forces begin to assert themselves. Often they are feeble at first, but they are none the less significant. Indications of the rising spirit of independence

*See **Lea**: *History of the Inquisition.* 3 vols.

have been observed in connection with Gregory VII. In the twelfth century the study of Roman law was revived. This proved to be a connecting link which joined the Hohenstaufen to the Cæsars. Frederick Barbarossa selected four doctors of the University of Bologna to draw up a code of laws which should define his rights and the rights of the princes who were under him. This work led to the discovery of a great number of imperial rights that had fallen into disuse. As a result the emperor's treasury was filled, and a new spirit of independence was begotten. Frederick was thus led to an extreme assumption of prerogative, and he was sustained by the jurists, who ascribed to him universal sovereignty.

The movement thus started could not stop. When Otto IV. was emperor he made many concessions to the Pope Innocent III. But the jurists of Bologna proved to him that some of these concessions were illegal, and so were not binding. He was thus led to take possession of Tuscany, which he had promised to leave to the pope. This spirit of freedom, as we have seen, led to his excommunication and retirement to private life. The same spirit was, however, to appear again and assert itself with greater power in Frederick II., 1212-1250. Frederick was in many respects a great man, but full of contradictions. Liberal as a man of culture, he was despotic as a ruler. His despotic nature showed itself especially when his prerogatives were called in question. He was wise and just, where his sway was not disputed. His struggle with the popes began early and continued throughout his reign. The wideness of his learning and sympathies caused him to be branded as a heretic, and as having sympathies with Mohammedanism. As a

statesman he was more moderate than his grandfather, Frederick Barbarossa. He represented the theory of co-ordinate power. He fully recognized the spiritual authority of the pope, but he denied his universal temporal authority. He asserted the co-equal sovereignty of church and state.

The theory of the mediæval empire rested, it has been said, upon a double basis. From the coronation of Otto in 962 the German kings were held to possess all the prerogatives of Constantine and Justinian. This was the historical basis. Moreover, the realistic philosophy of the age required that the universal state should be a monarchy, and the universal sovereign should be an emperor. The relation of this imperial sovereignty to the papacy, it was said, was analogous to the relation of body and soul. As the pope was God's vicar in spiritual, so the emperor was God's vicar in temporal, matters. Differing in sphere, in rank they were equal—each receiving his authority direct from God. Thus church and state were equally divine. The *Sachsen Spiegel* appeared in the latter part of Frederick II.'s reign. It says: "The empire is held from God alone—not from the pope. Emperor and pope are supreme—each in what has been entrusted to him." This has been called the metaphysical basis of the empire. The modified theory of the empire as thus expressed found its most conspicuous representative in Dante, born 1265. The closing sentence of Dante's *De Monarchia* is as follows: "Let Cæsar, therefore, show towards Peter the reverence wherewith a first-born honors his father, that, being illumined by the light of his paternal favor, he may the more excellently shine forth upon the whole world, to the rule of which he has been appointed by Him

alone who is of all things, both spiritual and temporal, the King and the Governor."

There were other expressions equally clear made by the thinking men of this age. The greatest of these is the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua.

Marsilius says: "The pope is the originator of the troubles, discords, and wars which a pacific emperor wishes to check. Society is divided into two classes. It is the business of the priestly class to teach and discipline men in things which, according to the Gospel, ought to be believed, done or omitted, to obtain eternal salvation. . . . So far as a priest possesses worldly goods or engages in worldly matters, he is under the same laws as the rest of the community." And so he continues.

These are remarkable statements to come from a man who was a professor in the University of Paris in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

F. THE CONTEST OF PHILIP THE FAIR AND BONIFACE VIII.

This is an epoch of much strength in French history. Philip the Fair is able, ambitious, persistent, and unscrupulous. He carries far ahead the unification and consolidation of France, and he is prepared to resist any encroachments on his royal prerogatives. The same spirit of independence which we have seen among the Hohenstaufen manifests itself in France.

Boniface VIII. was fiery, and had high ideas of papal prerogative. Inspired by the large conceptions and the wonderful deeds of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., he determined to go still further—even to the extent of absorbing the empire into the church. But he had the ability of neither of his distinguished predecessors. He was totally blind to the new and

rapidly growing spirit of independence that should have been evident on all sides. Fate had been unkind to Boniface in placing him the wrong man in the wrong place. The moment he attempted to carry out his policy "he stood at the edge of a gulf which had been gradually widening between the aims of the papacy and the aspirations of Europe."

The contest with Philip the Fair began in 1296. It was renewed in 1301 over the case of a papal legate who had defied the king's authority. He issued the bull *Ausculta Fili.* The king was sustained by the legists who by the Roman law regarded him as absolute.

In the contest that ensued the mediæval papacy was destroyed. The suddenness and abruptness of the calamity which befell Boniface impresses this indelibly upon the minds of men. "The papacy had first shown its power by a great dramatic act; its decline was manifested in the same way. The drama of Anagni is to be set over against the drama of Canossa."*

B. Church Extension

This was a period of much missionary activity and heroism in the face of the greatest discouragements.

The Gospel was preached among the Slavonians by Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, who died in 1139; by Vicelin, who died in 1154. It was also disseminated among the northern tribes by Meinhard, who died in 1194, and his successors Berthold and Albert. The Prussians, who were a mixed people, were first successfully won by Christian, who went from a Pomeranian convent. Too often in the conversion of these regions in northern Europe we read of "military

*See **Creighton**: *Hist. of Papacy During Ref.* Vol. I, p. 28.

conversions", in which the sword of steel had displaced the sword of the Spirit.

It is in this period that Raymond Lull (1236-1315) arose, and recognizing the failure of the Crusaders and their carnal methods, sought to win the Saracens by reason and moral suasion. His fundamental proposition, as set forth in his *Ars Magna*, is that: Faith and knowledge are inseparable.

C. The Crusades (1095-1270)

LITERATURE

Kugler: *Geschichte der Kreutzzüge.*
Prutz: *Kulturgeschichte der Kreutzzüge.*
Cox: *The Crusades.*
Gray: *The Children's Crusade.*
Michaud: *History of the Crusades.* 3 vols. Still valuable.

The Crusades were the outgrowth of pre-existing conditions. They may be regarded as an expression of the dominant and universal spirit of the Middle Ages. Looked at more narrowly, they seem to be a number of fanatical expeditions carried on by the followers of the Cross against the followers of the Crescent.

The causes of the Crusades are:

A. POLITICAL

The amicable relations which up to the end of the eleventh century had existed between Christians and Mohammedans had been broken by the inroads of a new and mixed race that had come from the Steppes of Turkestan. To them the Koran became a book of war. They became masters of Asia Minor, and were encroaching upon the Greek empire.

B SOCIAL

The pent-up energies of a restless and warlike nobility sought a wider and more distant field in which to express themselves.

C. RELIGIOUS

But the chief cause was religious. It has been truly said, "The Crusades were chiefly the explosion of a religious sentiment." This accounts in large measure for the general response that the nations made to the call.

The results of the Crusades were:

A. POLITICAL

They were among the principal causes that effected the decadence of feudalism. They to that extent made genuine political development possible. In other words they contributed to the growth of monarchy, which was needed to counteract the extremely decentralizing tendencies of feudalism. The Crusades also contributed to the development of public spirit. Men began to see that the permanence and prosperity of local ideas and institutions depended upon larger and more general ideas and institutions. The Crusades, moreover, gave a strong impulse to the national spirit. Community of language brought the members of each nation together, and made them see that they had common interests, and thus the consciousness of national individuality came into being.

The Crusades contributed again to the growth of liberty in the mediæval towns. They impoverished many of the great nobles who participated in them. In this weakened condition of the nobility the rising spirit of the commons was able to make its way

towards enfranchisement and the beginnings of free communities.

But the results of the Crusades were also:

B. ECONOMIC

This is seen in the revival of industry that came from the necessary equipment. "New methods and new material were imported from other lands. The east was opened. Europeans admired its productions and its industry, and introduced new plants for cultivation in their own country."

They led, too, to a great maritime movement, in which the thrifty merchant republics of Genoa, Pisa and Venice were prominent.

Again, the Crusades gave to the west a great

C. INTELLECTUAL IMPULSE

This came about through travel, and through contact with the learning of the Arabs. Thus western civilization became reanimated.

D. THE RELIGIOUS RESULT

of the Crusades is seen in the contribution that they made to the centralization of the papacy. What grander spectacle than that of the pope the commander-in-chief of the armies of Christendom, which are marching against the infidel! This conception was very influential, especially in the earlier part of the Crusades.

Closely connected with the Crusades were the Military Religious Orders, in which the monk became also the knight. There were three of these great orders—the Knights Templar, founded in 1119, the Knights of St John, founded in 1120, and the Teutonic Knights, founded about 1128. They were absolutely

obedient to the pope. Thus the church was able to use the sword.*

D. Philosophical and Doctrinal Developments and Controversies

A. Scholasticism

Literature

Heaureau: *De la Philosophie Scholastique.*
Seeberg: *Lehrbuch.* Bk. II, pp. 33-197.
Loofs: *Leitfaden*, pp. 264-309.
Harnack: *History of Dogma.* See Index.
Kaftan: *Truth of the Christian Religion.* Vol. I, Chaps. II and III.
Townsend: *The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages.*
Weber: *History of Philosophy.* pp. 198-285. Excellent outline.

When we reach the eleventh century we have entirely passed over from the reign of the Fathers to the reign of the Doctors—or what is known as Scholasticism.

In the time of Charles the Great the term scholastic or schoolman was given to the teachers in his schools. The name was later applied to those doctors who treated religious questions from the philosophical point of view. Their various systems were at last taken together and called scholasticism. The object of scholasticism was not to extend the field of philosophy and theology. This field was already bounded, and its cultivation was the task which the scholastics unconsciously set for themselves. When later thinkers began to break through these boundaries they were charged with heresy and persecuted.

*See **Woodhouse**: *The Military Religious Orders.*

The Nature of Scholasticism

It is intellectual, aprioristic, and speculative. It seeks clearness of apprehension and expression. Its basis is theological. The idea of God underlies all knowledge, therefore all other sciences are subservient to this idea. The rule of scholasticism was: "Faith precedes knowledge, fixes its boundaries, and prescribes its relations." Its method was syllogistic.

The Historical Divisions of Scholasticism

It is customary to divide scholasticism into three chief periods.

a. Period One

This was the period of arranging doctrines and definitions.

1. Anselm

The first school-man of universal distinction was Anselm of Canterbury, 1035-1109. Anselm was born at Aosta in Piedmont.

(*1*) *The Forerunners of Anselm*

The questions which Anselm had to meet were in large measure not new. The story of the origin of dogma and of its conflict with reason is a long one. When the old Roman and pagan world perished it bequeathed to the new Christian world much of its spirit, and all of its unsolved problems in religion, in philosophy, and in politics. The new world did not reject the inheritance. The discussion of the relation of authority to reason had waxed warm for two centuries. Erigena had dealt with it in the ninth century, and Berengarius was thirty-five when Anselm was born.

The fundamental problem, accordingly, was: How

are reason and authority related to one another? It is practically the same question when the discussion relates to faith and knowledge. For by faith the mediæval theologians understood: Assent to the authoritatively delivered doctrines of the church. Knowledge is the truth which, as resting on grounds, is discovered by reason. (**Kaftan.**)

We are not to suppose that the interest in this subject was limited to the learned. The interest was widespread. Some of the leading works of Anselm were called out by friends, who were perplexed, and who wanted their perplexities cleared up. We thus see that Anselm was to a considerable degree a product of the *Zeitgeist*, or spirit of the time.

(2) *Anselm's Doctrine*

1. Authority and Reason

His maxim was: *Credo ut Intelligam.* Man is created in the image of God, but this image is only in outline, and must be filled out before one can arrive at a knowledge of oneself. But for this work man, a dependent being, requires some external motive to spur him on. Such a motive is revelation which is accepted on faith. Faith precedes science and gives birth to it. This explains the title of one of Anselm's works: *Fidens Quaerens Intellectum.**

It will thus be seen that Anselm recognized the claims of reason. It would be sinful, he said, and a grave neglect of duty not to reduce the truths of faith to a scientific form. His method is illustrated when he attempts an ontological proof of the existence of God. The argument is stated as follows: The atheist must admit that there is in his mind a conception of

*See **Alzog.** Vol. II, pp. 470-1.

a being infinitely supreme. But it is impossible for him to conceive of such a being, without conceiving of Him as existing. Therefore this conception is not merely an idea of the mind, but an objective reality. And it is further concluded that whatever there is in the world of the true, the beautiful and the good is but a reflection of Him who is all truth, and beauty and goodness.

This famous argument of Anselm called out a reply from Gaunilo, a monk of Marmontier. Gaunilo said: If this argument were valid it would equally follow that because one conceives an island in mid-ocean it must necessarily be there.

But Anselm replied by distinguishing between ideas *logically inseparable* and such as are connected by an *effort of the imagination.**

It is easy, however, to see that the principle of authority is imperilled by Anselm's position that the truths of the faith ought to be put in scientific form. This is practically to say that truth accepted on authority can be demonstrated. Now suppose that when the attempt is made to demonstrate the deepest truths of the faith, such demonstration is found to be impossible. Then shall authority or reason prevail? At such times many fall back on authority, while many others go forward with reason, and truth for the time being is rent in twain. It will thus be seen that Anselm's position raised questions for whose satisfactory answer it had made no provision. Yet the impulse that it gave to thought was to yield beneficent results farther on.

*For a strong conservative view of the metaphysical arguments for the existence of God see **Orr**: *Christian View of God and the World*, pp. 123-129.

2. The Doctrine of Universals

But Anselm became involved in the controversy concerning universals. This controversy had its roots far back in the past. They bore fruit when Roscellinus, canon of Campiègne, declared that universals are but the sound of the voice—*flatus vocis*. The individual is the only existence. When he applied his principle to the doctrine of God it landed him in *tritheism*. Anselm took the opposite view that universals are real, and the controversy between nominalism and realism was opened.

3. The Doctrine of Sin

Anselm's theory of sin is found in his treatises: *On the Fall of the Devil*, *On the Virgin Conception*, *On Original Sin*. Adam and Eve were the whole of humanity. When they sinned all human nature was weakened and corrupted. This weakened and corrupted human nature is "born in infants with the obligation upon it to have original righteousness which it always was able to preserve." This corrupted nature is then a seminal inheritance. Children dying without baptism are lost.

But yet sin is a matter of the rational will. "The appetites themselves are neither just nor unjust in themselves considered, . . . but just or unjust, only as he (the individual) consents to them with the will when he ought not."

Anselm explains this apparent contradiction by a distinction of nature and person. When Adam fell he did not include all individuals, but only all human nature. Individuals inherit this nature, but they become sinners only when they as individuals consent to the evil desire. Hence we have *original* sin or the

sin of nature, and *actual* sin or the sin of individual commission.

Sin is disobedience. It is man's withholding from God what is His due.

4. The Doctrine of the Atonement

LITERATURE

Anselm: *Cur Deus Homo?* (Why Did God Become Man?)

Harnack: *Hist. of Dogma.* Vol. VI, pp. 54-83. Excellent epitome, and searching criticism.

Strong: *Systematic Theology.* pp. 397-421. Theories of the Atonement, including the Anselmic theory. Admirable statements and criticisms.

We have already seen that in the first four centuries, the emphasis was placed rather upon the person than the work of Christ. Yet the fact should be borne in mind that numerous passages in the church fathers from Clement of Rome to Augustine show the presence of the thought of the propitiatory value of Christ's death. From the time of Ignatius the strange idea obtained currency that the death of Christ was a ransom paid to Satan, who had a just right to the souls of the transgressors.

But it was reserved for Anselm in the eleventh century first to work out according to the scholastic method an elaborate theory of the atonement.

Leading features of this theory are: Man owes God absolute obedience. This obedience was withheld by the first man, Adam, in whom was all human nature. Consequently God has been robbed and dishonored, and man is left in debt to God. Justice and God's honor demand that this debt be paid in full.

Even if man could henceforth render perfect obedience, the debt already contracted would remain to be

paid. The only way in which this debt can be paid is through punishment. If this punishment is inflicted on the transgressors, the manifestation of God's love for man and his salvation will be impossible, since his punishment must be eternal, because robbing God of His honor through disobedience is an infinite demerit.

If man, therefore, is to be saved and God is to be satisfied, there must be an infinite satisfaction. For only the divine can satisfy the divine; and at the same time it must be human, for only the human can render satisfaction for the human. Therefore the God-Man becomes a necessity. The God-Man owed obedience for Himself, but He did not owe His own life. His obedience and death were consequently more than was necessary for Himself, and the surplus might go to a third party—the transgressor for whom it was ultimately rendered and endured. That the God-Man who freely gave up His life should be rewarded was necessary. But since He had all things how could He be rewarded? In the incarnation men had become His brethren, and their release from the burden of debt was His great and sufficient reward. "Nothing more rational, more sweet, more desirable," says Anselm, "could the world hear."

The Anselmic theory of the atonement soon took a leading place in Christian doctrine.

In Anselm we have a remarkable combination of gentleness and strength of character, of the spiritual and the intellectual. In this respect he was a model for all ages. His works have permanent value, and have exerted a wide influence on theological thought. Perhaps those best known are the *Monologium*, the *Proslogium*, and the *Cur Deus Homo?**

*See **Welch:** *Anselm and His Work.*

2. *Peter Abelard* (*1079-1142*)

(*1*) *Reason and Authority*

Abelard entered with zest into the contest of reason and authority. He was too brilliant to be prudent. His teachers were first Roscellinus, the nominalist, and afterwards William of Champeaux, the realist. He advanced far beyond Anselm and was much more positive. He avowed the rights of reason, and demanded the argumentation of all questions on reasonable grounds. It was only thus that the faith could be saved from becoming mythological.

(*2*) *The Doctrine of Universals*

In the contest about universals Abelard was unable to take either side. He sought rather to steer between. Universals are not *ante rem*, nor *post rem*, but *in re*. The universal exists not in the individual, but outside the individual in the concept. After all, his theory was very near to nominalism.

(*3*) *The Doctrine of the Atonement*

Abelard denied that the death of the Saviour was a ransom paid to Satan in the following words: "If a slave should desert his master, his master could justly demand that he be given up. But if a slave should seduce his fellow slave from obedience to their common master, how absurd it would be for this slave to set up a claim to the services of the one whom he had seduced."

Abelard's own views on the atonement were very different from those of Anselm. He rests all on the benevolence of God. The necessary elements are: A *fiat* on God's part, and penitence on the sinner's part. The life and death of Christ were intended to

make a profound moral impression—and so to produce sorrow in the soul of the transgressor. From this it is evident that Abelard was the founder of what we now call the moral influence theory of the atonement.,

His brilliancy brought him multitudes of students, and through these students his views obtained a very wide currency. One of his pupils was Arnold of Brescia, who taught that church and state should be separated and that priestly government should be abolished.

But that Abelard's teachings should go unchallenged was not to be expected. He met more than his match in the mystical Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard's doctrine was that, "The soul might rise to a full knowledge of religious truth by three degrees of consideration, the results of which are styled respectively: opinion, faith, and *intellectual apprehension.*" It is based upon the principle that, "God is known in proportion as He is loved."

Bernard claimed that Abelard had confounded the faith with the teachings of philosophy. He said: "There is nothing in heaven or on earth that he does not claim to know."

He was condemned at the Council of Soisson, 1121, and at Sens, 1140. After the last condemnation he published a *Confession* and *Apology*, and died at Cluny, 1142.

Among his works are: *Introductio ad Theolog. Christ; Sic et Non; Scito te Ipsum.**

(4) *Reaction against Rationalism*

The influence of Abelard had extended far and wide. It is not surprising that the more cautious and con-

*See **McCabe**: *Peter Abelard.*

servative should become alarmed, and that a reaction, varying with different individuals, should set in. In this reaction mysticism is a controlling element. Some individuals went to the extreme of renouncing scholasticism entirely. Others were more moderate, and sought to avail themselves of the strength of both scholasticism and mysticism. Among these latter are to be mentioned:

1. Robert Pulleyne

He sought to lead the world back to the doctrines of Anselm. Faith must precede science if we are to know the truth. His principle was that all reasoning must be based on the Bible and the Fathers—that is, Scripture and *tradition.*

2. Peter Lombard (*1164*)

He was born at Novara in Lombardy, of poor parents. He was educated at Bologna, through the assistance of a wealthy gentleman; placed by Bernard of Clairvaux in the school at Rheims, where he became a pupil of Abelard. Later he became a professor of theology at the University of Paris.

He composed *Four Books of Sentences* in 1140 or 1150, and was appointed bishop of Paris in 1159. The object of the sentences, as he himself said, was: "To put forward the strength of the church's faith; to disclose the hidden treasures of theological research; to make plain the meaning of the holy sacrament."

It is thought that he probably got the suggestion from John of Damascus, whose *De Fide Orthodoxa* had just been translated into Latin.

The *Sentences* became the first manual of scholastic theology. It usurped the place of the Scriptures and held a high place for three centuries.

During this first period of scholasticism, Plato was the philosopher who was especially esteemed, although Aristotle was not without much influence, especially in the sphere of dialectics. In the next period his works are better understood and his sway is absolute.

b. Second Period of Scholasticism

The second customary division of scholasticism is the period of dialectical skill, method, and system. In time it nearly coincides with the thirteenth century.

1. Special Characteristics of the Period

The Fathers were more generally used; Aristotle is more correctly understood, and more extensively studied—his methods were adopted in the lecture rooms; and the mendicant orders gave a new impulse to theological science.

2. The Great Men of the Period

(*1*) *Alexander of Hales* (—— *1245*)

He was educated first in the English monastery of Hales in Gloucestershire. He took his theology and canon law at the University of Paris, where he afterwards became a professor. He annotated the *Sentences* of the Lombard; made the first commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and wrote a *Sum of Universal Theology*. He was the first to make a complete application of Aristotle to the problems of theology. Alexander placed affirmative and negative propositions side by side, and sought a decision from all sources of authority. But the ultimate source of authority was always to be the Holy Scriptures. His authority became so great that he was known as the *Monarch of Theologians*—

the *Irrefragible Doctor*. He was a Franciscan, having entered the Order in 1222.

(*2*) *Albertus Magnus* (*1193-1280*)

Albert the Great was a Dominican. He took all knowledge for his field, and was called *Universal Doctor*. Through him Aristotle became more extensively known.

On the problem relating to Reason and Faith he took a moderate position. To him theology was above all a practical science. It is "based on the experience of faith conditioned by supernatural revelation—but this does not exclude a process of proof for the sake of agreement among believers, and the conversion of unbelievers."*

In the doctrine of Universals he led the way to a compromise "according to which the universals *ante res* were to be conceived as existing in the divine mind, those *in rebus* as the universal element in individual things, those *post res* as in our thought.'

(*3*) *Bonaventura* (*1221-1274*)

Bonaventura was born in Tuscany, was a Franciscan, the pupil first of Albertus Magnus, second of John of Rochelle. He was pure in life, practical, mystical, speculative, a Platonist rather than an Aristotelian. In 1253 he was a professor of theology in Paris. Among his works are a *Commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard*, the *Centiloquium*, and the *Breviloquium*. This last is regarded as his most important work. Gerson pronounced it, "A rich and complete exposition of dogmatics, and recommended it to beginners in theology as well adapted to kindle love in the heart and illumine the intellect."

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*See **Moeller**: Vol. II, p. 429.

6.240

(4) *Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274)*

1. His Education

Thomas was of noble birth. His grandmother, Francisca, was a sister of Frederick Barbarossa. At the age of five years his education was entrusted to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino. After six years he was ready to enter the university. He went to the University of Naples, which was at the time a flourishing seat of learning. His teacher of rhetoric and logic was Peter Martin, while his teacher of natural philosophy was Peter the Hibernian. He distinguished himself at Naples, finishing his studies in 1243.

The depravity of university life at this time was shocking. The temptations to young men were of the most dangerous kind. But Thomas preserved his original innocence and unaffected piety. Such a nature as his would soon sicken at the wickedness, strife, and abominations of the world. He was accordingly led to join the order of the Dominicans. In this he was strongly opposed by his mother and family. He fled from home, was captured, subjected to temptation by his brothers, but remained firm in his resolution. At last his mother came over to his side, and he was permitted to follow his convictions.

The next step in his progress was his course of study with Albertus Magnus at Cologne. Here it is said that he was "grave, taciturn, and modest to a degree that excited the merriment of his companions, who assailed him with all sorts of raillery, bestowing upon him, among other epithets, that of 'the dumb Sicilian ox.'" But he soon achieved a brilliant success in an academical disputation. At the close of it Albertus Magnus cried out: "We call him the dumb ox, but he

will yet turn out a teacher whose voice will be heard through the whole world."

From this time forth his advancement was steady and rapid. He went to various places, devoted himself to writing and teaching. His fame became so great that the Universities of Paris, Bologna, and Naples vied with each other to secure his services. But he went to the University of Naples in 1272. So distinguished was he that "the king, the whole city, and the inhabitants of the surrounding country turned out to receive him, and his entrance resembled more the triumph of a conqueror than the homage paid to the sanctity and learning of a humble monk" (**Alzog**, Vol. II, p. 772).

2. The Doctrines of Thomas Aquinas

(1) Faith and Knowledge

The problem of faith and knowledge was the central problem for Thomas. Anselm's maxim was: *Credo ut Intelligam.* It did not occur to him that any limitations were to be put upon the proof of dogma. Abelard advanced much farther than Anselm, and then there was a reaction toward Anselm. But Thomas drew a line between such dogmas as admit of proof, and such as do not. "It is," says Kaftan, "quite simply put thus: Those dogmas are rational which can be understood and explained by means of the Aristotelian philosophy; those on the other hand of which that cannot be said are *supra rationem.*"

(2) The Doctrine of Universals

In the controversy about universals Thomas took the side of the realists. Nominalism was tending toward crude materialism, while realism was tending toward pantheism. In the light of this controversy

the question of the divine attributes came up. Thomas as a realist defined the attributes of God and their mutual relations. God's will and His reason cannot be separated. Therefore, "as the moral law is the true expression of the will of God, it cannot change."*

(3) *The Doctrine of the Atonement*

His doctrine of God influenced his doctrine of the atonement. God is absolute. He could directly forgive sins, just as a man may forgive an injury done to himself. Yet God chose the best mode of full, objective satisfaction through the death of His Son. For this choice He finds, according to the Aristotelian metaphysics, a relative but not an absolute necessity. In this way God manifests His love for a lost race. Christ, on account of His superabounding love, voluntarily makes this great sacrifice. Christ, as the head of the whole race, renders satisfaction for the members of the body.

It will thus be seen that Aquinas substantially agrees with Anselm.

(4) *Political Doctrines*

In politics Thomas was a moderate constitutional monarchist. But in the last resort the church must rule the state.

3. *The Writings of Thomas Aquinas*

The principal works of Aquinas are: *Concerning the Regimen of Princes*, giving an "exposition and defense of the theory of Christian government and political economy as understood in the Middle Ages."

Four books concerning the *Truth of the Catholic Faith against the Gentiles; Translation of the Works of Aristotle;*

* See **Strong**: *Christian Ethics*, pp. 298-301.

Commentary on the Four Books of Sentences of Peter Lombard; The Sum of All Theology—Summa Totius Theologiae.

This last is the greatest production of his mind, and remained unfinished. It is divided into three parts, treating respectively of God, Man, and the God-Man. It proceeds by questions. The question is stated. Then the doctrinal errors against it, then the answers to the errors, then the full body of the article

"The philosophy of St. Thomas," says **Janet**, "is the faithful image of his times. It is the central point of the Middle Age—it is the Middle Age itself."*

In Thomas we reach the culmination of the scholastic theology. He to this day remains the theologian of Romanism.

(5) *John Duns Scotus (1266-1308)*

The great activity and wide influence of Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican, excited the jealousy and called forth the energy of the Franciscans. They at last found a worthy rival in John Duns Scotus. Thomas was known as the Universal and Angelic Doctor, Scotus became known as the Subtle Doctor. It is uncertain whether he was born in Ireland, Scotland, or England. He began his career at Oxford, was removed to Paris, and finally had charge of a convent at Cologne. He was a typical Franciscan, the very incarnation of obedience.

It is claimed that Scotus was the equal of Thomas in dialectical skill, and his superior in acuteness, and that "he anticipated the inductive method of Bacon and Newton, and thus formed a connecting link between the schools of ancient and modern philos-

*See *Hist. de la Sci. Pol.* Vol. I, p. 336.

ophy." He doubts whether theology can ever be in the true sense of the word a science. It certainly must have principles peculiar to itself, and it must be practical rather than speculative.

Scotus was a realist in philosophy, but he diverged from Thomas on so many points that he became the founder of a school with a large following. We have thus the beginning of the contest between the Thomists and the Scotists, which was strongly partisan, and which separated the two orders into hostile camps.

Since this conflict has considerable interest for our own times it is worthy of special attention. This will be most satisfactorily done by allowing each of the combatants to speak for himself. The quotations are taken from the *Summa* of Thomas, and the *Book of Sentences* of Scotus.

Thomas: "Man was created in grace."

Scotus: "Man was not created in grace; but was placed in grace after his creation."

Thomas: "By the Fall the nature of man was in itself weakened and wounded, so that an evil element was introduced into it."

Scotus: "By the Fall the nature of man, though deprived of the supernatural gifts, was not injured by the introduction of any element of evil."

Thomas: "The incarnation was designed by God to remedy the Fall."

Scotus: "The incarnation would have taken place even if man had not sinned."

Thomas: "The Blessed Virgin Mary had the taint of original sin at her conception, though she was freed from it before her birth."

Scotus: "The Blessed Virgin Mary was free from original sin at the time of her conception."

Thomas: "The merit of the death of Christ was superabounding, so that it was more than sufficient to atone for the sins of mankind."

Scotus: "The merit of the death of Christ, being in His manhood, was finite; and the sufficiency of it lay not in the act of Christ, but in the acceptance by God."

Thomas: "The predestination of man to both grace and glory is absolutely the will of God."

Scotus: "The predestination of man is a divine act in view of the foreseen merits."

Thomas: "Infused virtue is bestowed by God on man, without his co-operation, though not without his assent."

Scotus: "The will of man by the help of God assists in the reception of virtue."*

From these passages it is clear that mediæval theology has come to the parting of the ways. While seeming to agree in some particulars, Thomas and Scotus really disagree in their conception of the nature of God. This disagreement colors the streams of theological thought that flow on into our own times.

The views of Scotus come out in his doctrine of the atonement. He holds to the absoluteness—even the arbitrariness—of the divine will. What was the cause of the incarnation? Thomas, "with some hesitation," seems to make sin the cause of it. Scotus somewhat inconsistently makes it "a necessary means to the blessedness of the human race—the end which God has freely chosen to achieve; hence it is an inherent necessity in things prior to the existence or even the prevision of sin."†

*See **Stone**: *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, p. 336.

†See **Strong**: *Christian Ethics*, pp. 288-309.

The atonement and its method are arbitrary. Sin is not an infinite demerit, neither was the death of Christ an infinite merit. God might just as well have accepted some other substitute, or He might have forgiven the transgressors without any substitute at all. Why is a thing good? Because God wills it to be so. There is no intrinsic quality in the thing itself that makes it good.

This is a natural consequence of making omnipotence and arbitrary will, instead of truth and justice, fundamental in the nature of God. "Scotus," says **Kaftan**, "forms a connecting link between the previous theologians and the later nominalists. . . . By the pre-eminently critical cast of his thought he undoubtedly helped to usher in the reign of nominalism" (*T. C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 168).

c. Third Period of Scholasticism

This was the period of decline in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Scholasticism has almost run its course. It is to become the object of ridicule by Erasmus in his *Praise of Folly* in 1511.

The leading schoolman of this period is Occam (—— 1347), the "Singular and Invincible Doctor." Occam is a worthy successor of Duns Scotus. He revives nominalism, and denies that the doctrines of theology can be demonstrated. But Occam does not mean to be skeptical in regard to the truths of the faith. They exist, but they rest solely upon authority, and this authority is divine revelation as declared in the Holy Scriptures. He did not recognize tradition as being of equal authority with the Bible. The thing that he emphasized was the absolute separation of theology from philosophy. He still

remains a good scholastic in that his method is syllogistic.

Other great scholastics of this period were Durandus—Doctor Resolutissimus, and John Wiclif—Doctor Evangelicus, who has been called the last of the schoolmen.

These men really broke down the boundary line that had marked scholasticism off from the rest of the world.

Scholasticism had its weak and its strong sides. It had a wrong point of view, as it was limited by authority, and not by ultimate facts; it was too narrow in its conceptions, since it was limited within the boundaries marked out by the Fathers and a wrong interpretation of the Scriptures; it wasted much precious energy in discussing trivial questions impossible to answer; it finally fettered all progress and then was overthrown in the revolt of its subjects.

But scholasticism had also its strength. Its roots struck deep into human nature; men have always wanted things explained systematically and clearly—even if the explanation should turn out not to be final. The system, or systems, constitute a step in historical progression, and this the modern world is coming too tardily to recognize.

Augustine exercised a mighty influence upon the scholastics, and they displayed his strength as well as his weakness.

Scholasticism developed, moreover, an intellectual acuteness that will be serviceable to the world for all time to come.

As doctrines gradually became formulated, authority became centralized in the church and universal in its sway. The Middle Age was pre-eminently an age of

faith and authority. This was true to an extent that we find it impossible to realize in our country, where the right of individual opinion, theoretically at least, is never questioned. Thomas Aquinas set the standard, laid down the laws, and gave the permanent impress to mediæval authority.

If we look closely at the conception of mediæval authority, we find that in addition to being central in the church—the city of God, practically unlimited, and universal, it controlled the overt acts of men, secular as well as religious; the thoughts of men—the limits within which investigation might take place; and the manner of thought-expression — literary, artistic, and religious. The results came on in good time—general stagnation, general suffering, general unrest, general revolt.

B. THE SECTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Professor Newman has given an excellent outline of the whole subject of mediæval sects.* He has divided the "Anti-Romanist Christian Life of the Middle Ages" into Dualistic parties; Pantheistic parties; Chiliastic parties; Evangelical Separatists; and Church-reforming parties. The bibliographies are very full and satisfactory.

The sects of the Middle Ages is a subject of great difficulty. The difficulty arises chiefly from lack of authentic sources of information. Such sources as we have are, for the most part, the accounts given of these sects by their enemies. That there were many of these sects, and that their influence was wide can

*See **Newman**: *M. C. H.* Chapter on "Reactionary and Reforming Parties," pp. 541-621.

hardly be doubted. That some of them had the true spirit of Christ and the primitive church, while others propagated dangerous errors, seems to be equally certain. When they originated it is impossible to say. They perhaps arose privately and without attracting attention to themselves, and the contests of the popes and emperors encouraged them to come forth and proclaim their doctrines.

In the latter half of the fourth century Priscillian appeared teaching Gnostic and Manichaean doctrines. The redemption of the soul, he said, could be accomplished only by the extinction of the human race. Hence marriage was forbidden. He, with some of his disciples, was beheaded in 385. This was the first "heretical blood" that was shed by the church.

Early in the same century appeared Audius, who believed that the church was suffering from its connection with the state. He was excommunicated, and disclaimed all connection with the church and established a sect.

The Paulicians, originating in the east about the middle of the seventh century, have been mentioned in another connection.

These examples suffice to show us that dissatisfaction and dissent in the church began very early.

About 1115 appeared Tanchelm in Brabant. He is said to have proclaimed himself the Son of God, and to have had churches set up in his own honor. The accounts given of him are probably grossly exaggerated. Many of his doctrines seem to have been entirely salutary.

A little later Eudo de Stella taught doctrines similar to those of Tanchelm, in Brittany and Gascony. His denunciations of the corruptions of the church had

such an effect upon the people that they became riotous and destroyed churches and monasteries.

The Petrobrusians

This sect took its name from Peter de Bruis, who flourished from about 1104 to 1125. Not much is known of his early life. It is certain that he was a pupil of Abelard. Our chief source of information concerning Peter's doctrines is a book written by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. The charges made against Peter de Bruis are so well condensed by Alzog, the Roman Catholic historian, that we shall quote them at length: "He rejected infant baptism; denied the real presence in the Eucharist; declaimed against the mass as a continuation of the sacrifice on Calvary; celebrated the communion service simply as a memorial rite; held that no special sanctity resided in consecrated buildings, and that God might be honored as well in stables as before altars; forbade the erection of new churches, and directed that those already built should be torn down; was fanatically opposed to the worship of the cross, which, he said, should be the horror of all Christians, inasmuch as it was the instrument of Christ's torture and death; condemned the practice of praying for the dead, and of giving alms and doing other good works in their behalf; and, finally, prohibited all chanting and the use of any kind of sacred music."

Alzog goes on to tell us that we might suppose any one holding such views would be severely ascetical. But, he says, this was not the case with Peter. "He encouraged marriage, even in priests, as a strictly religious duty, and wished to abolish the fasts of the church."

He was finally burned at St. Giles near Arles, by a mob which threw him on a pile of pictures and images which he had committed to the flames.*

Closely connected with Peter de Bruis was Henry of Lausanne—1116-1148. Before becoming a reformer Henry had been a monk at the abbey of Cluny. He is said to have opposed sacred music of all sorts; to have strongly advocated marriage, and to have hated the clergy.

When he exposed the indolence and immorality of the clergy, people left the churches and flocked to hear him. "He became," says Peter the Venerable, "the inheritor of the wickedness of Peter de Bruis, whose doctrines he continued to preach until the death of that fanatic."

To give some idea of the extent of Henry's influence, the following sentence is quoted from Bernard of Clairvaux: "I have found the churches empty of people, people without priests, priests not respected; Christians without Christ; God's holy places profaned; the sacrament no longer held in honor; and the holy days without solemnities."

The Waldenses 425-5

LITERATURE

Comba: *Storia dei Valdesi.*

Comba: *Introduction à l' Histoire des Vaudois.*

Bompiani: *A Short History of the Italian Waldenses.*

Vedder: *Origin and Early Teaching of the Waldenses, according to Roman Catholic writers of the thirteenth century. Am. Jour. Theol.* Vol. IV, pp. 465-489.

Also same author, *Short History of the Baptists*, pp. 65-71.

*See **Alzog**: *U. C. H.* Vol. II, pp. 655-656.

The Waldenses were probably founded by Peter Waldo, who flourished about 1150, in southern France. From this center they spread over a large part of Europe. In Italy they are to-day the strongest Protestant denomination.

They were governed by bishops, of their own choosing, presbyters and deacons. Their members were divided into perfect and imperfect. The first had "no property and observed a strict fast." The second class lived about as other people, but did not indulge in gross immorality or even excessive luxury.

In doctrine they attacked the external constitution of the church as well as its visible organization; they rejected the absolute authority of bishops and popes; they taught that laymen and even women may preach; it was wrong to pay tithes; laymen may "absolve penitents and consecrate the Eucharist"; in the veneration of saints only the Apostles should be honored, and these not too much; it was wrong to use crosses and images and ornaments in churches; the great object of religious worship was to preach the Gospel to the people in the vernacular; the Scriptures are the *one* and *only* source of instruction for faith and practice.*

The Bogomiles

The name means "friends of God." Their origin is obscure. They were first known in Bulgaria. In 1111 the Emperor Alexius Comnenus by deception learned their doctrines from Basilius, who was a physician. These doctrines were dualistic and resembled Manichæism. The sect was persecuted and partially suppressed in 1119. But their teachings found their way

*See **Alzog:** *U. C. H.* Vol. II, pp. 660-661.

into western Europe, and especially into Lombardy and eastern France, where they became influential in the Albigensian development.

The Albigenses

The conditions in southern France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were peculiarly adapted to a mingling of elements which could not chemically unite. The Roman element was very strong; the Germanic element was Gothic; the Christianity, although formally reconciled to Rome, was Arian in predisposition; Manichæan and Paulician ideas had been brought in by refugees from the east—those ideas having smouldered until the general intellectual quickening of the twelfth century. Important centers for these diverse elements were Toulouse and Albi. The latter gave its name to the Albigenses.

The clergy had become thoroughly immoral, and revolting vices prevailed everywhere. The church was consequently weakened and demoralized. This condition invited attack.

Specifically, what did the Albigenses believe? The answer is not easy because they did not all believe the same things. They may probably be divided into three classes. The first class consisted of those who were like the later reformers. They objected to sacerdotalism with its rigidity; "to the intellectual narrowness of church doctrine; to the immoral and unscriptural lives of the clergy." The second class consisted of those who had inadequate or distorted views of doctrine. Among these were found Manichæism, Gnosticism, Oriental Mysticism.

In the third class would be found those whose views were positively pernicious—such as antinomianism

and consequent religious heedlessness and profligacy of life.

The Albigenses without distinction, as we have already learned, were extinguished in Innocent III.'s murderous crusade.

E. Christian Life

The Christian life of this period is varied and interesting. Customs begun in earlier periods continued their development. New interests more or less antagonistic to the generally accepted ideas and beliefs begin to assert themselves with a large degree of persistency and effectiveness. The spirit of independence that we have seen manifesting itself in other connections is seen in the religious life. Society seems to be full of currents and counter-currents. Inconsistencies and even flat contradictions become quite conspicuous.

a. new developments in monasticism

The monastic orders sought greater freedom by breaking loose from the control of the bishops, and by considering themselves as obedient only to the pope. This spirit was encouraged by the papacy, and many special privileges were granted to the monasteries.

As the old orders became influential their vows of poverty were broken, they became rich, and with riches came corruption. As protests against this corruption, new orders were founded with the avowed purpose of returning to the primitive and apostolic faith. Among these new orders are to be especially mentioned the Cistercian, established in 1098, and famous because Bernard of Clairvaux was connected with it; and the Carthusian, established at Chartreuse in 1086.

The Carthusians were especially noted for their rigid discipline and for the great emphasis that they put upon spiritual exercises.

Among the lesser orders are the order of St. Anthony, the Trinitarians, and the Premonstratensians —each with some specific end in view—as caring for the sick, ransoming Christian slaves, and placing special emphasis on the idea of poverty.

The great number of new orders that were continually arising impressed Innocent III. unfavorably. He accordingly prevailed upon the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, to forbid the establishment of any new orders. With the view of introducing some sor
of regularity in regard to the practice and au
tarities of the monks the Mendicants for their observance
rules were early prescrib

It is now seven hundred years since Benedict founded his famous house at Monte Cassino. This great order became the model for all the principal monastic institutions of the west. Its rule in its essential features was the rule of them all. Its cardinal points were self-abnegation, charity, and other virtues. In order that these ideals might be realized, it was thought necessary to withdraw from the world with its wickedness and temptations, and that the monks should surround themselves with conditions that would be favorable to the development of the spiritual life. The influence of these orders in ecclesiastical matters was a controlling one. It has been claimed that they furnished forty popes, two hundred cardinals, and about five thousand archbishops and bishops.

But at the point which we have now reached the Benedictines are to experience a somewhat arrested development. Despite their vows, they had become

Monte Cassino, situated midway betw
Rome and Naples in Italy.

wealthy and corrupt; despite their theoretical withdrawal from the world, they had become worldly, and their educational and economic ideas had touched and influenced the world. Thus gradually the way has been prepared for a new monastic ideal—an ideal that in many of its features is a complete reversal of the Benedictine ideal. This new spirit of the age is to manifest itself in the Mendicant Orders, whose ideas are incarnated in two great men.

The first of these men was Dominic the Castilian, a Spanish priest, 1170-1221. His conception was that the mission of Christianity was not to seek a refuge from the world, but to go into the world and move and control it. His principle is expressed in the word *aggression*. His plan was to send forth missionaries into all the world with well-matured purposes. Consistently with this conception, he became the founder of the Dominican Order of Preaching Friars—who became known as Black Friars. Dominic has been called "the flaming sword of the church, devoted to the persecution and destruction of heretics, for the saving of their souls and the relief of true religion." He was the chief promoter of the appalling crusades against the Albigenses, and the Dominicans became the chief Inquisitors in later history.

The second of these great men was Francis of Assisi, 1182-1226.

LITERATURE

Paul Sabatier: *Collection de Documents Pour L'Histoire Religieuse et Literaire*. Du M. A. 2 Vols.

Paul Sabatier: *St. Francis of Assisi.*

Mrs. Oliphant: *Life of St. Francis.*

Knox-Little: *St. Francis of Assisi.*

Lea: *History of the Inquisition.* Chapter on "Mendicant Orders."

Jessop: *Coming of the Friars.*

Francis was suddenly converted from a gay and worldly youth to the gospel of self-abnegation and absolute obedience to God. His order grew up side by side with that of the Dominicans. The Franciscans were known as the Grey Friars or Brothers. They went about doing good, and the objects of their charity were such as were afflicted with the most loathsome diseases, such as leprosy.

Like Dominic, he believed it should be the purpose of the Friars not to retire from the world, but to conquer the world. His followers were sent out two by two in the work of preaching repentance. "He wore a coarse grey tunic, and literally followed the command to provide neither scrip for his journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves. To reproduce the life of Him who had not where to lay His head was the most ardent wish of his heart."

Although Innocent III. sought to prevent the multiplication of new monastic orders, he was constrained to recognize the aspirations of Dominic and Francis, and the growth of the Mendicants or Begging Friars was phenomenal. Their principle of aggressiveness caused them to seek leadership in all the principal activities of life. This was especially true in the sphere of education. As we have seen in our discussion of the scholastics, the Mendicants occupied most of the positions of prominence in the universities, and were the leaders in philosophy and theology.

Connected with these orders were lay societies consecrated to lives of devotion, but not bound by monastic vows. They were called Tertiaries.

B. NEW INTERESTS IN LITERATURE

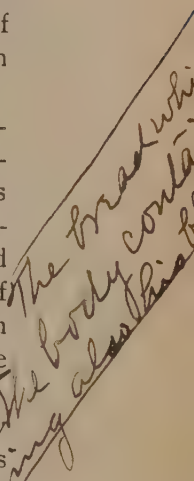
Hitherto the Bible has been regarded as the fountain of wisdom, and the source of satisfaction for the deepest needs of mankind. *The Lives of the Saints* came in to supplement the Bible, and, being mostly in the vernacular, were very extensively read. But now a new spirit seems to be taking possession of society. It is the same spirit of independence which we have seen asserting itself in politics and in monasticism. Literature is beginning to be secularized. This manifestation is seen in the production of, and in the reception that is given to, the pieces of the Troubadours, the Trouvères and the Minnesingers. It is seen, too, in the new interest that is taken in the pagan writers, and in the Civil Law, and even in the *Four Books of Sentences* by the Lombard. To very many *The Lives of the Saints* have become dull and uninteresting, and the Bible itself is being gradually thrust into the background.

C. THE SACRAMENTAL SYSTEM

Sacramentalism has been growing for many centuries—indeed almost from the founding of the church. In this period it attains its full development. About 1124 the sacraments took the definite number of seven, which coincided with the sacred number. They were: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, Matrimony. While many of the more thoughtful insisted that faith in the recipient must accompany the administration of these sacraments, the fact remains that they became almost entirely objective and even materialistic. Among the specific consequences are to be mentioned: The permanent establishment of transubstantiation—which was

first formulated by Paschasius Radbertus, 831, and afterwards practically established by the overthrow of Berengarius, 1078, and at last fixed beyond the reach of cavil by the Lateran Council in 1215.

One consequence of the doctrine was the discontinuance of communion in both kinds, and the establishment of communion in one kind only. It was known as the doctrine of *concomitance*. This doctrine was originated by Thomas Aquinas, who said that the bread, which was sacramentally the body of the Lord, contained also His blood. This communion in one kind lessened the danger of dropping the sacred elements in distributing them.



"Another consequence that flowed immediately from the scholastic dogmas on the Lord's Supper was the adoration of the Host. It had been usual long before to elevate the holy sacrament with the idea of teaching by a symbol the triumphant exaltation of the Lord. A different meaning was, however, naturally imparted to the rite when men believed that Christ was truly veiled beneath the sacramental emblems. These in turn became an object of the highest worship, which was paid to them not only in the celebration of the mass, but also when the host was carried in procession to the sick. The annual feast of *Corpus Christi* (on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday) was the point in which these acts of worship culminated" (**Hardwick**: pp. 303-304).

Numerous other errors reached maturity during this period. Among these should be mentioned as especially misleading: The worship of the Virgin Mary, which became almost universal; a great extension of saint worship, accompanied by fraud and larger accumulations of relics, which were mostly spurious; pil-

grimages as an easy method of atoning for sins; absolution, leading to plenary indulgences, first granted by Urban II., in 1095, and the Treasury of Merits—supplied mainly by Christ's sacrifice, but contributed to also by good men. From this treasury the popes could supply the shortages of those who could not reach the standard.

The year 1300, near the end of our period, was set apart for a great jubilee. All Christians who should worship at the tomb of St. Peter for fourteen days should receive plenary indulgences. The result was that hundreds of thousands of pilgrims poured into Rome from all sections of the west, and many were crushed to death in the eager crowds. Another result was that the papal treasury was enormously enriched by the contributions of the faithful.*

This was also a period in which preaching makes considerable progress. This is especially stimulated by the Mendicant Orders who preached to the people often in the open air, in a popular style. Hymnology moved from the natural toward the artificial; religious or miracle plays, or mysteries appear; from the opening of the eleventh century a new impulse is given to church architecture, and by the close of the thirteenth century the Gothic style had reached a high degree of perfection.

This was also an age in which charity was very extensively but often injudiciously dispensed.

F. The Church in England

This is a period of deep and abiding interest in English history. This interest is both political and

*See **Lea**: *History of Confession and Indulgences*, Vol. III, for a minute and vivid account of all these subjects.

ecclesiastical. It includes the Norman Conquest, the wresting of the Great Charter from King John, and the interaction of political and religious forces. The same issues that joined the parties on the Continent in a very large measure engaged the attention of Englishmen. The same decadence that paralyzed the spiritual life of Europe also appeared in England—and similar efforts were made for reformation. It is also true that as the Continent had its conflicts between church and state, England passed through like experiences.

But while we find these parallelisms between England and the Continent, and while English Christianity is organically connected with Roman Christianity, it nevertheless remains true that in England religion, as well as politics, has had a development peculiarly its own.

The Norman Conquest covered the period from 1042 to 1087. The great churchman of this period was Lanfranc. He realized the needs of the church and set about reforming its outward organization and improving its spiritual life. This reformation he sought through changes in the cathedral bodies and the enforcement of clerical celibacy, 1076.

As soon as William the Conqueror established himself he manifested his desire for the continuance of friendly relations between himself and the pope, but he also gave out the distinct impression that he would never be the pope's man. Near the end he granted that ecclesiastical courts should be separated from the civil courts.

The period from 1087 to 1176 was a time of struggle between church and state. The Conquest had caused numerous changes to take place. Among these were:

A closer connection with the papacy; the filling of nearly all the leading positions in the church with foreigners—who being superior to the English in morals and education made a reformation in the clergy; the growth of canon law; and the introduction of feudal ideas.

In 1093 Anselm was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by William Rufus, the Red King. William was almost devoid of conscience. Anselm was learned, holy, and gentle, but firm as adamant. In the conflict that ensued Anselm was banished. He was recalled by Henry I., banished again, and finally a reconciliation was effected.

In the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189) the clergy included many unworthy men. The king determined that when those men committed crimes they should be tried in his courts. This precipitated the quarrel between Henry and Thomas Becket, which resulted in the murder of Becket, and the humiliation of the king.*

From 1178 to 1297 we have the struggle for English liberty, and its final establishment by Edward I. King John was humiliated by Innocent III., and made his vassal; he was obliged to sign the Great Charter in 1215. Papal extortion took the forms of taxation, provisions, and annates.

*See **Abbott**: *St. Thomas of Canterbury.* 2 vols.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY TO THE POSTING OF LUTHER'S THESES

(1305-1517)

A. The Relations of Church and State

a. the babylonian captivity (1309)

LITERATURE

Creighton: *History of the Papacy During the Reformation.* 6 vols. From this point onward to the end of the Reformation this work is indispensable.

In the contest of Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair the papacy fell on evil days. Its steady and rather uniform progress from a single bishopric on the Tiber to universal dominion was suddenly and rudely checked. And the check was not merely for the moment. It was to be permanent. Never again shall the papacy rule the state. Nay, more, its right to rule in religion is going to be denied and effectively resisted by the larger, more intelligent, and more progressive portion of western Christendom. The new rival theory that we, in a previous section, saw peeping above the horizon has arisen and grown to tremendous proportions, and it asserts itself relentlessly.

The first important result of Philip's decisive victory was the transfer of the papal see from Rome to Avignon, in papal territory indeed, but practically under the control of Philip. This captivity of the

papacy lasted seventy years, hence its name—the Babylonian Captivity.

But the strained relations of the state and the church in France were duplicated by a contest of the pope John XXII. and Louis of Bavaria, king of the Romans. This contest was a survival of the old and bitter strife between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. John summoned Louis to appear before him as a suppliant at Avignon. Louis put forth a counter-manifesto, and was finally excommunicated. This led to the formation of rival parties—respectively the imperial and the papal parties. It was in the midst of this conflict that the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua, mentioned above, appeared and created a profound impression. In the long run the papacy lost ground. People were beginning to have less respect for the pope, and less fear of excommunication.

B. THE GREAT SCHISM (1378)

LITERATURE

Salembier: *Le Grand Schisme D' Occident.*
Locke: *The Great Schism of the West.*

It seems not sufficient that enemies should arise outside of itself, the church is now to undergo what is far worse—division within its own body. This schism arises from the attempt, finally successful, to restore the papal see to Rome. A pope, Urban VI., was elected through the influence of the Italian party in 1378. Urban proved unequal to the stress, and another pope, Clement VII. (anti-pope), was elected. Clement went to Avignon. This double election led to what is known as the Great Schism of the West. This schism lasted for almost forty years. In the view of

the world it was a scandal and humiliation. It contributed more than anything else that had happened to the loss of confidence in the power of the papacy. The spirit of nationality which was already arising received a new impulse. It began to be evident that states could exist and prosper without any assistance from the popes. Indeed, it became clear to many leading minds that papal interference was positively harmful.

C. THE REFORMING COUNCILS

The Council of Pisa (1409)

The weakness of the papacy was made manifest in the Great Schism. It was now necessary to maintain two courts, and this increased the financial burdens, already too heavy. Moreover, Christianity was a religion of simplicity, but its leaders were indulging the extremes of luxury, and cries for reform were coming up from all directions. The outcome of the situation was that through the influence of the better class of cardinals a council was called to meet at Pisa. The purpose of this council was, of course, to restore unity to the church, and to purify it in head and members. The immediate result was to do neither. A new pope, Alexander II., was elected, but both the other popes—Benedict XIII., and Gregory XII.—refused to recognize the action of the council. They were jealous of each other, and they also saw that if a council could depose a pope who refused to resign, the absolute monarchy of the papacy would be destroyed, and it would become a limited monarchy subject to the decisions of councils. The result of the Council of Pisa, therefore, was three popes, each with a considerable following. Nothing was done toward reformation.

It remains only to be said of this council that it was a step in the right direction. It is always a gain when an organized effort is made to correct abuses.

The Council of Constance (*1414-1418*)

The Council of Pisa had failed either to heal the schism or to reform the church. And its problems were demanding solution more urgently than ever. The church was not only divided and corrupt, but heresy was assuming a very dangerous aspect. All the indications pointed to another council—a council which should fairly represent the political and ecclesiastical interests of the west. This council was first called by the Emperor Sigismund, and afterwards by Gregory XII., at Rome. It assembled in Constance—a city outside of Italy, and a place easy of access for the nations north of the Alps. It was a brilliant assembly, consisting of eighteen thousand ecclesiastics alone.

The Council of Constance dealt first with the schism. It deposed John XXIII.; prevailed upon Gregory XII. to withdraw his claims; degraded and deposed Benedict XIII.; and elected Oddo Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. Thus the schism was practically ended.

Heresy also came up for consideration. John Hus, who had been stirring Bohemia to its depths, was summoned to appear and give an account of himself. He was condemned and burned.

The writings of Wiclif were taken up. Forty-five articles were condemned, and the author was solemnly declared to be "the leader of heresy in that age." His books were to be burned, and his bones resting at Lutterworth were to be removed from consecrated

ground, "if they can be distinguished from the bones of the faithful." Eight years later the order was carried out. Wiclif's remains were burned to ashes and the ashes were thrown into the river Swift. "The little river carried Wiclif's remains into the Avon, the Avon into the Severn, the Severn into the narrow seas, and they to the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."

But practically nothing was accomplished in the way of reformation. Martin made promises, but before any plans could be carried out he caused the council to be dissolved.

The Council of Basle (*1431-1449*)

Two reformatory councils have now been held, and reformation, the subject that should have received the first and almost the sole attention, has been well nigh totally neglected. But one of the regulations of the Council of Constance was that general councils should be held at regular intervals, and that these councils should be the ultimate source of authority in ecclesiastical affairs. It also remained true that, although the plans of the reformers had been thwarted, the spirit of reformation was stronger than ever. This spirit asserted itself again in the events that led to the Council of Basle. This council met very early in the reign of Eugenius IV. Its objects were manifold: "To disseminate instruction; to destroy heresy root and branch; to reform the church in head and members; to establish peace among Christian nations; to unite eastern and western Christendom."

The long struggles of this council resolved themselves into a contest between the papal and anti-papal

parties. The great nations were lukewarm. Eugenius was deposed. Then the tide turned—and apparently the victory lay with the pope. On the surface it would appear that nothing had been accomplished. And yet the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges which contributed much to the national independence of France, was based on the decisions of this council.

But what was even more important was that, notwithstanding the disgust and discouragement of the reformers, these three councils brought earnest and thoughtful Christians almost up to the point from which they could see that reformation within the constitution of the hierarchy was not to be thought of. Reformation was coming, but it was coming through revolution.

B. Church Extension

By the opening of the fourteenth century most of the European peoples had, at least formally, accepted Christianity. There were, however, some outlying districts which remained in paganism. These regions are now to be invaded by missionaries. This work is carried on mainly by the Mendicant Orders, and chiefly by the Franciscans. We speak of this as missionary work, and yet the facts compel us to regard it as hardly more than a travesty of missions. Most of these men who went forth to convert the heathen were vitiated at heart by the accumulated errors of all the preceding centuries. We have observed that at the opening of the mediæval era formal Christianity had departed very far from the pure and simple precepts of the Master and the apostles. But in eight hundred years the situation has become far worse.

Among the peoples who were reached by this zeal for church extension should be mentioned:

A. THE LITHUANIANS IN 1386

Previous attempts had come to naught. The present attempt was made by the Grand Duke Jagal. It was mainly political at first, but afterwards it became more evangelical.

B. THE SAMAITES AND LAPPS

The results of efforts among these people were not very satisfactory. "It was not till the sixteenth and the following centuries that Christianity became the popular religion."

C. THE KUMANIANS

They were pagans of a very low order. After a long struggle they were converted and became subject to the eastern church.

D. THE CANARIES AND WESTERN AFRICA

The way was opened by the Portuguese. Conquest and the cross went together, always to the subordination of the cross.

E. AMERICA

Of special and melancholy interest to us is the fact that America was discovered during this period, and that the Spanish attempted to convert the natives to their form of Christianity. The satanic spirit of the Spanish Inquisition found its complete expression in the leader of this "missionary" enterprise. Yet oftentimes the means were gentle, and the natives were easily brought over from their religion to that of their conquerors. It was in this connection that the slave trade was started.

F. MOHAMMEDANS AND JEWS

The same spirit prevailed in the attempts that were made to convert the Mohammedans and Jews. The

results were the natural consequences of such a policy.*

C. Philosophical and Doctrinal Controversies

We have witnessed the almost absolute dominion of scholasticism over the western mind. Aristotle was pre-eminently the philosopher of the scholastics, and in their essential spirit they were rationalistic. Plato was forced into the background, and the real spiritual life was chilled to the death. Aristotle will continue to hold his own in the universities for a long time to come, but Plato will reappear to remain a permanent and potent influence in the world, and mysticism will have a marvelous and abiding development. After scholasticism came humanism.

A. THE RISE OF HUMANISM

LITERATURE

Whitcomb: *Source Book of the Italian Renaissance.*

Voigt: *Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums.*

Symonds: *The Renaissance in Italy.* 7 vols. Abridged by Pearson. 1 vol.

Burckhardt: *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy.*

Owen: *Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance.*

Spingarn: *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance.* Very valuable.

Brandi: *Florenz und Rom.* A scholarly and vivid picture of the times.

Scartazzini: *Dante Handbook.* Probably the best short work.

Robinson & Rolfe: *Petrarch, the First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters.*

*For excellent short account of the chapter with references to authorities, see **Hardwick**, pp. 312-320.

Armstrong: *Lorenzo de Medici.*
Villari: *Life and Times of Savonarola.*
Van Dyke: *Age of the Renascence.*
The Cambridge Modern History: Vol. I. *The Renaissance.*

By humanism we are to understand a just appreciation of man and all his wonderful achievements in literature, in art, and in society; and of nature in her manifold expressions of beauty and beneficence. The spirit of a true humanism is that everything that is true and beautiful and good in the universe is to be appropriated and enjoyed by man to the extent of his capacities.

As humanism grew the limitations of scholasticism were broken through, and ultimately destroyed, and the world that had been hampered so long went free.

The humanistic movement began in Italy with a revival of culture—especially of a new knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics—and a new enthusiasm for classical antiquity.

In literature this new awakening is foreshadowed in Dante; in art it is well begun in Cimabue and Giotto.

But the great founder and promoter of Latin humanism was Petrarch. He cultivated Latin; developed Italian lyric poetry; made vast collections of manuscripts—thus becoming the founder of libraries; climbed mountains for the sake of the view—thus directing the attention of the world to the beauties of nature.

Petrarch's love of nature is shown in the following passage from his description of Vaucluse: "Where, outside of Italy, can you find a more tranquil dwelling than this? From morning till evening you may see me wandering over the hills, through the meadows, the streams, and the forests, cultivating the soil, avoiding contact with men, following the birds, resting in the

shade, enjoying the mossy caves and green plains, detesting the deceits of the court, avoiding the noise of the city, keeping far from the thresholds of the proud, despising the cares of the vulgar; neither too sad nor too gay, absorbed day and night in the sweetest peace, with the company of the muses, the songs of the birds, the murmur of the proud and glorious waters'' (*Ep. Fam.*, VI, 3).

He was energetically seconded by Boccaccio, whose tales made him the creator of Italian prose.

Petrarch did not understand Greek, yet he longed to do so, for he was fully convinced of the treasures that Greek literature must contain.

But the Greek revival was not long deferred. By the end of the fourteenth century the influence of Immanuel Chrysoloras had been felt. But the main impulse was given to the movement by Gemistos Pletho, whose enthusiasm for the Platonic philosophy proved contagious in Italy, where he worked for a time. This revival was aided still further by the influx of Greek scholars into the west after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

By the advice of Pletho the famous Platonic Academy was founded in Florence by Cosimo de Medici. The purpose of this academy was to restore the more congenial philosophy of Plato as opposed to Aristotle, who had been the victim of Arabian misinterpretations. The most gifted head of the academy was Marsilio Ficino, the promise of whose youth led Cosimo to give him a special training for this responsible position.

The Platonic Academy reached its highest point of influence under Lorenzo de Medici and the coterie of brilliant men whom he gathered around him. Among

these should be mentioned, in addition to Ficino, Poliziano, and Pico della Mirandola.

Humanism did not arise as a power antagonistic to the church, but rather as an independent movement.

But criticism became a necessity almost at the beginning. Manuscripts purporting to come from the same author on the same subject often varied to a great extent. The effort to ascertain exactly what the author did say brought scientific method and criticism into being. As soon as this method showed good results it became clear that its application ought not to be confined to the writings of the Greeks and Romans, but that it ought to be applied to all writings.

It is no surprise, then, when Laurentius Valla writes *Annotations on the New Testament;* applies philological criticism to the Vulgate; and subjects the *Donation of Constantine* to a rigorous historical criticism. Neither are we surprised when the Inquisition became alarmed at the boldness of such proceedings. But the spirit of humanism had even captured the papacy, and Pope Nicholas V. would allow no interference with Valla.

Now this wonderful movement towards a truer understanding of man in all his relations could not be confined to Italy. It was destined to become a controlling influence in all European society. The leading scholars of the age were members of the Platonic Academy. It included also nearly all the great patrons of learning in Europe. Moreover, in the great councils of the church, Germans and Frenchmen and Englishmen had met Italians, and thus important avenues of communication were open. A great idea, then, in one part of the world would very soon become familiar in all other parts of it. Humanism accord-

ingly was soon firmly fixed at Erfurt, Heidelberg, Paris, and Oxford. From these centers it went everywhere.

It is to be noted further that while humanism south of the Alps was prevailingly intellectual, and often thoroughly pagan, north of the Alps it was tempered and guided by a strong spiritual element. In Italy criticism was applied chiefly to the Greek and Latin classics, but in the northern countries it was reverently used not only for the overthrow of scholasticism, but also for the better understanding of the Scriptures.

But the spirit of humanism was also caught by the Aristotelians, and instead of the misinterpreted Aristotle of the earlier schoolmen, a truer Aristotle arises to vindicate himself. In this new peripatetic school skepticism was developed to an alarming extent. The leading philosopher of this school was probably Pietro Pomponazzi, who died in 1526. He did not openly attack the church, but he doubted the immortality of the soul and divine providence in the world.*

As always happens in such periods of history, enthusiasm soon broke over the bounds of discretion. The Greek and Latin authors were studied so exclusively and were so completely adopted as the only true models that the writings of the time were soon thoroughly artificial, and a true, natural growth in thought and literature was utterly impossible. This is seen in Petrarch, who expected that his immortality would rest upon his Latin writings—such as his *Africa*—and not upon his Italian lyrics, which he did not regard very highly.

*For an interesting imaginary debate between the young Pomponazzi and his older antagonist Achillini on the multiplicity or simplicity of the intellect see **Owen:** *Sceptics*, etc., pp., 189-194.

And so, under the influence of the classics, and the skeptical tendencies that came on apace, and under the new and easy freedom that humanism brought, Italian society lapsed into a low degree of immorality. But this was only the decline which precedes a great revival.

B. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MYSTICISM

LITERATURE

Vaughan: *Hours with the Mystics.*

Inge: *Christian Mysticism.* The Bampton Lectures for 1899. A very admirable and well tempered presentation.

Ullmann: *Reformers before the Reformation.* Vol. II. Bk. 3.

Kaftan: *Das Wesen der Christlichen Religion*, p. 71 ff. and p. 362 ff. Also, *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, pp. 8-9n. and pp. 61-2n.

Clarke, J. F: *Events and Epochs in Religious History.* Lect. 9. "The Mystics in all Religions."

Piper: *Lives of Leaders of Our Religion.* 1st, Tauler of Strasburg. 2d, Thomas à Kempis.

Trench: *Lectures on Mediæval Church History.* "The German Mystics."

Smith: *Students' Ecclesiastical History.* Vol. II, pp. 554-575.

Unknown author: *The German Theology.*

The word mysticism in the popular mind has many meanings, most of which cannot properly be applied to it. Mysticism is subjective rather than objective. It is an inner experience (Innigkeit). Its central idea is that of vital and immediate union with God. It thus comes about that God and divine things are

not known through any dialectical process, but they are experienced through the direct and immediate intercommunion of the individual and the infinite Source of all being.

Mediæval mysticism arose in connection with scholasticism. It was soon differentiated from scholasticism, and later on antagonized it. The earlier embodiments of mysticism are found in William of Champeaux, Bernard of Clairvaux, and the Victorines. These men represent the twelfth century. The full development of mysticism was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The causes that led to this development are well known, but they should be enumerated here:

1. The inheritance of Neoplatonism.
2. The aridity of scholasticism.
3. The shocking corruption of the whole ecclesiastical establishment.
4. The conflict between Pope John XXII. and Emperor Louis IV., which brought great sufferings to the people.
5. The ravages of the Black Death, and the terrifying convulsions of physical nature. Murrains destroyed the flocks, storms laid waste the crops, and earthquakes spread desolation and terror.

It seemed to be a time of universal calamity. Surely nothing in the external world gave any hope. "The councils, toward which men were already looking, might or might not reform or renew the outward face of the church; but the true mystic would fain reform and renew what was more within his power, and what he felt more nearly to concern him, namely, himself and his own heart. If every external basis and support for government and religion had given way, we

have, they said, at least ourselves left us. Within the circle of our own thoughts we have enough to content us. There, if we seek it, we can find order and peace and holy quiet, and God the author of these" (see **Trench**: pp. 358-9).

Such an attitude of mind and heart has its weakness and its strength, and both will appear in due time.

The leading mystics were members of the Dominican order. They regarded themselves, for the most part, as faithful members of the church. They were reformers, but they did not wish to defy the church, or to break with it. Yet in several cases they came very near to doing both.

Like all great conceptions that embody neglected or fundamental truth, mysticism expressed itself in distinguished men. Through these men many variations will always appear.

The founder of German mysticism was MASTER ECKART, 1260-1327. Eckart was born in Strasburg, became a pupil of Albertus Magnus at Cologne, took his master's degree at Paris. and filled numerous important positions in the Dominican Order. He was accused of heresy, but refuted the accusation in a sermon. He was an epoch-maker, and has been called "the father of German speculation."

Eckart's mysticism amounted to pantheism. Taking Thomas Aquinas for his basis, he developed a theory of knowledge in which man, the subject, is so closely united to God, the object, as to be completely absorbed. All that is personal and self-centered is abandoned that the individual may be lost in the infinite One. The boundaries between natural and revealed theology are broken down. The finite really does not exist. Salvation consists in the separation

of the godlike elements in the soul from the finite, and then through unlimited contemplation man becomes a son of God.

The second great German mystic was JOHN TAULER, 1290-1361.

Tauler was born at Strasburg; studied at Cologne; imbibed the general principles of Eckart; but sought to avoid his master's pantheism. Eckart was extremely speculative, like Erigena before him and Hegel after him. Tauler was above all things practical. He was a great preacher, and exerted a powerful influence in Strasburg and Cologne. His theoretical mysticism sometimes showed itself sufficiently to arouse suspicion.

The conflict between the pope and the emperor had caused Germany to be laid under the interdict. This misery was intensified by the Black Death which prevailed during 1348-9. The people were left to die without the consolations of religion. Tauler led a remonstrance to the clergy, in which this heretical maxim occurred: "He who confesses the true faith of Christ, and sins only against the person of the pope, is no heretic."

Eckart's mysticism in modified form expressed itself still further—in John Ruysbroek, 1298-1386, who had a deep knowledge of the spiritual needs of his times; and in Henry Suro, 1295-1366, in whose religious nature the emotional side was cultivated to a large degree.

Other types of mysticism are seen in the Friends of God; in Thomas à Kempis, famous for his *Imitation of Christ;* John Gerson, who sought to reconcile the opposing tendencies of scholasticism and mysticism; and in Girolamo Savonarola, whose fundamental posi-

tions logically led to a complete breaking away from the church; John of Goch; John of Wesel; and John Wessel, whose ideas of grace through faith Luther found in perfect harmony with his own.

The mystics cannot justly be connected with the sect known as the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit. This sect existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and were strong in exactly the same localities where the mystics were strong—along the Rhine, and especially at Cologne, which was their chief center. They represented the extreme of pantheism and antinomianism. God was incarnate in every pious person. "Whatever was done in love was right." The perfect were above law. They antagonized the church, marriage and property.

D. The Church in England (1297-1485)

On the continent we have seen the decay of the papacy, and the degeneracy of the clergy; the conflict of church and state leading to the removal of the papal see to Avignon; the Great Schism and the consequent humiliation of the papacy; the reforming councils and their apparent failure. All these events indicate declension in the church.

But, on the other hand, we have beheld a rising spirit of independence, a disposition on the part of earnest Christians to awaken a new spirit of moral earnestness. This new spirit has expressed itself in many forms, and, although there is no centralized general movement, the tendency towards reformation is unmistakable.

The results of these continental movements were felt in England. In their broad outlines the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are a period of spiritual

declension. The church forfeited the respect of men. They ceased to think of it as divine and supreme. They rather thought of it as being on a level with political institutions, and they treated it accordingly—indeed, they questioned its moral influence.

Such a condition of mind never remains long inactive. In this case it expressed itself in anti-papal and anti-clerical legislation. This legislation takes the following forms: The statute, *De Religiosis*, (1279), the object of which was to prevent the acquisition of land by religious corporations; the statute, *Circumspecte Agatis* (1285), whose object was to check encroachments of the ecclesiastical courts; the refusal of the papal claims to adjudicate in civil matters, viz., the case of Boniface VIII. when he wished to adjudicate between England and Scotland; the *Statute of Provisors* (1351), which made the obtaining of a benefice by reservation or provision from the pope, in derogation of the rights of patrons, an offence punishable by fine or imprisonment; and the *Statute of Præmunire*, which inflicted the penalty of outlawry upon all Englishmen who appealed to foreign courts in matters which should come before the king's court.*

But these manifestations indicate that while the church is losing its power there are antagonistic forces that are steadily gaining in strength. These forces are found in the rising spirit of freedom which is seen in the rise of a free laboring class who worked by the day—known as journeymen; in the new literary activity as seen in Chaucer, the poet of the court, who gently chode the corruptness of the clergy; and Langland, who sang the people's woes, and taught the equality of all men before God, and the gospel of

*See **Wakeman**: p. 144 ff.

labor; and in the appearance of John Wiclif, who arose to denounce the wealthy and degenerate church.

When the spirit of freedom arises it is sure to be universal in its manifestations. It finally takes in all phases of society. This was a most auspicious time for Wiclif to come upon the scene. This remarkable man arises as a protest against the prevailing tendencies of his day—not only in England but on the Continent as well. He is strong in intellect and pure in heart. As a student at Oxford he early distinguished himself. As a statesman he strikes powerful and effective blows against papal extortion. As a preacher he sways the masses with his English sermons at Lutterworth, and profoundly stirs the scholars with his Latin sermons at Oxford. Through his English translation of the Bible he sends a thrill of new life through all England. As a philosopher and theologian he beats down most of the leading doctrines of Romanism. He came to the end of his great career in violent conflict with the hierarchy.

But Wiclif's influence was not confined to England. There were already thirty or forty universities in existence, and the students were in the habit of passing from one to the other, in order that they might hear all the most famous professors. In this way Wiclif's fame and his works went all over Europe. His writings in many of their leading features expressed the convictions of John Hus, and inspired him to greater activity in his wonderful career. In connection with the Council of Constance it has been seen how Wiclif's writings were condemned, and how it was decreed that his body should be dug up and burned.

LITERATURE

Lechler: *Joannis Wiclif Trialogus.*
Arnold: *Wycliffe's English Sermons.* 3 Vols.
Lechler: *John Wycliffe and His English Precursors.*
Trevelyan: *The Age of Wiclif.*
Sergeant: *John Wyclif.*

E. Christian Life

This period is transitional. Society is breaking away from the old and embracing the new. After a long, bitter, and tragical conflict reason has advanced to the front and exercises the right to sit in judgment on the motives and deeds of priests and princes. The common people come into self-consciousness, and they are beginning effectively to assert themselves, and we see the rise of a new and tremendous social force.

The causes of this momentous advance towards some certain but as yet indefinite end are not far to seek. They are to be found in all the previous history of the church. We have seen the age of the apostles; the age of the fathers; the age of the schoolmen; and the age of the humanists. Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio have made their powerful contributions to literature. Giotto and Arnolfo have inaugurated a revolution in art, and Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael are about to bring it to perfection. The net results are found in a decided elevation and purification of taste.

The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 had driven scholars to the west, and thus intensified the desire for learning; the great discoveries had enlarged men's conceptions of man and the world; the development of modern languages is put far ahead; Wiclif's translation of the Bible has shed a great light in England;

and the printing press was devoting itself to the diffusion of knowledge.

But we naturally turn to ask what the church is doing in the presence of such evidence that a new spirit is everywhere breaking out. Surely she ought to be able to read as she runs. But not so. She went right on developing downwards. This is seen in the sacramental system; in the worship of the Virgin; in penance, which on one side becomes ascetic, and on the other becomes liberal and easy Since not all could go to Rome, Rome arranged to go to all, and the 'pardoner,' the recognized official of the pope, was soon found everywhere. Religion becomes more and more external, objective, empty, and the results are quickly seen in the lives of its professors.

The clergy had long been a subject of satire among literary men. As far back as the time of Petrarch this had been so. He refers to Avignon as "Impious Babylon—avaricious Babylon—the school of errors—the temple of heresy—the forge of fraud—the hell of the living." In one of his sonnets he calls for the wrathful fire from heaven to alight upon the base city, and smite her harlot tresses, and after an appalling catalogue of "vices hatched in that foul nest of treason" he closes with these words:

> "In former days thou wast not laid
> On down, nor under cooling shade;
> Thou naked to the wind wast given,
> And through the sharp and thorny road
> Thy feet without the sandals trod;
> But now thy life is such, it smells to heaven."

F. The Dawn of the Reformation

The Middle Age was full of striking contradictions. These contradictions were often found in the same

individual. The gospel only slowly made its way to the hearts of men and took complete possession of those hearts. Many of the men of the Middle Age were no doubt hypocrites and scoundrels, but they ought not to be so branded in any peremptory fashion. The time, however, has now come for some gigantic change, and presentiments are not wanting that it is just at hand. The weakness and inefficiency of the ecclesiastical system were evident to all thoughtful persons. The reforming councils had apparently failed, but the failure was only apparent. Each one of them, by the very fact of its meeting, had emphasized the need of reform, and thus brought the crisis a step nearer. Persecution had not exterminated the sects. The Waldenses were especially vigorous and prosperous. Moreover, there had been several outbursts of reformatory force in localities widely separated geographically—Wiclif in England, Hus in Bohemia, Savonarola in Florence.

At last the times were ripe for the crisis. The lines converged in Martin Luther. Step by step he was led on in his opposition to the degenerate church, until he was excommunicated in 1520. "Every chance of compromise vanished at this point; it forms one of the most momentous epochs in the world's history. The deep and simultaneous heaving that was felt soon afterwards in Switzerland, in Spain, in Poland, and in Scandinavia, in the British Islands and in Hungary, in France and in Belgium, and in the papal states themselves, as well as in the German provinces extending from the Baltic to the Tyrol, proved that all things were now fully ripe for some gigantic change. *The* Reformation had arrived" (**Hardwick**, p. 412-13).

BOOK THIRD

MODERN CHURCH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

MODERN CHURCH HISTORY

From the Posting of Luther's Ninety-five Theses to the Present Time

(1517-1902)

LITERATURE

Lodge: *A History of Modern Europe.* An exceedingly valuable collection of the essential general facts of modern European history concisely and clearly expressed.

Schwill: *History of Modern Europe.* A scholarly and valuable short history.

Duruy: *History of Modern Times.*

History never breaks with itself. To the superficial reader it often seems that it does. But upon deeper study it always turns out that history is one vast, infinitely complicated, progressive movement. In its long stretches this movement invariably turns out to be a movement upward towards perfection. But perfection is always far ahead in the dim future.

What we call the modern period is introduced by several striking personalities, and by tumultuous changes in society. And yet when we seek for exact dates we find that they do not exist. This is shown by the fact that historians do not agree. The division itself is arbitrary, and is used only for convenience. The historian is not surprised at the appearance of

these remarkable phenomena. He has seen them in process of becoming for centuries. And when at last they appear in their tremendous manifestations he says it is only what was to be expected.

If men had been less selfish and more sincere and altruistic, the course of events might have run in a different direction. But they have sinned grievously, and now they have to learn by bitter experience that sin will always be punished, even in this world; and, sadly enough, the innocent are involved.

The modern period begins with an upheaval that goes by the name of The Reformation. When The Reformation began it is impossible to say. Its beginnings were microscopic; its development gradual—at first imperceptible. For a long time reformers had comparatively little influence. They were going against the current, and to men less resolute the outlook must have been into hopelessness.

On the other hand the hierarchy steadily and rapidly grew in strength, differentiated itself, and finally controlled all life in its various phases—social, political, literary, artistic, as well as religious.

But we have also observed the rise of a general hostility to the hierarchy. This opposition became effective only when through the tyranny of the hierarchy the suffering of the world became too great for endurance. It was evident that there must be a radical change or Christendom must perish. The steps in such a process are usually growth, prosperity, ease, luxury, corruption, suffering, discontent, revolution, reformation.

When discontent has matured through suffering it always expresses itself through great men. Great men are condensed expressions of universal will at critical

periods in history. But they are much more than this. They are *persons*. They condense into themselves the whole spirit of their times, and by the power of their personality give it a new impulse and point out the direction in which it shall move for a long time to come.

Great men speak out the thoughts that struggle for expression in the hearts of the unrecorded millions. The motives of these men are sometimes pure, but more frequently mixed. They usually speak better than they know. Many of them would be startled if they could see the consequences that are to flow from their utterances. As a rule they intend to be conservative, but their expressions contain the germs of deep and widespread and far-reaching revolution.

Many of these men have already come within our review—Francis of Assisi, Frederick II., Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marsilio of Padua, Savonarola, Wiclif, Hus.

The rising spirit of the preceding centuries found clear, simple and concise expression, but at the opening of the sixteenth century the pent-up forces of The Reformation were ready to convulse all Europe.

It was the same spirit everywhere, but it was to be differently shaped by the various environments arising out of the social and political phenomena of the separate nations, and out of the peculiar mental temperaments of the great leaders. Thus in Germany it will take one form; in German Switzerland another; in French Switzerland another; and in England still another, which will differ very widely from those on the Continent.

But the conception of reformation once partially realized could not stop in the process of realization at

the date—1648—usually given as the close of the period. The new credal statements were not ultimate. They were to serve their day and generation, and then be subject to modification, just as the pre-reformation creeds had been modified. And so right on down to our own times, through differences and conflicts, through the anxious care of the conservative, and the recklessness of the radical, reformation has moved steadily on. But through it all the constants of Christian history have remained ever the same, and the faith of the individual Christian has grown clearer and stronger with every passing century.

With a purified and clarified Christianity come larger and truer conceptions of the infinite worth of the individual, and consequently the better adjustment of the mutual relations of men in society.

Coincident with these great social and religious movements was the advent of printing and the new discoveries. From the beginning of the sixteenth century a new line of political and ecclesiastical development will demand the increasing attention of the historian—the growth of institutions in America.

It will become ever clearer to the student of this period that nothing in history takes place suddenly; that nothing takes place in isolation, but rather always in combination; that The Reformation was not simply a religious movement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but rather a world movement, reaching far back into the past and far forward into the future.

CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION

(1517-1648)

LITERATURE

Schilling: *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, pp. 1-173. A very valuable and interesting collection of documents.

Vedder: *Historical Leaflets.* Translations with critical notes from *Reformation Documents.* The series may be continued indefinitely—of great value.

Wace and Buchheim: *Luther's Primary Works.* Very important.

Whitcomb: *A Literary Source Book of the German Renaissance.* Excellent.

Seebohm: *The Era of the Protestant Revolution.*

Lindsay: *The Reformation.* To the very general reader the latter two volumes will be of the greatest service—as placing the emphasis respectively upon the political and religious sides.

Babington: *The Reformation.* A new, popular and valuable work.

Spalding: *History of the Reformation*—Romanist.

Balmes: *European Civilization.* A reply to Guizot's lectures on "The History of Civilization."

Walker: *The Reformation. In Ten Epochs.* A fresh and interesting statement.

Häusser: *The Period of the Reformation.*

Fisher: *History of the Reformation.* The above two excellent works are supplementary. Häusser is strong on the political side, while Fisher elaborates with great impartiality the ecclesiastical side.

Beard: *The Reformation in Its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge.* Ably written from a Unitarian point of view. *Hibbert Lectures*, 2d ed., 1885.

Döllinger: *Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwicklung und ihre Wirkungen.* 3 vols. From the Roman Catholic point of view. Strongly written—unfavorable to the Reformation.

Janssen: *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* 8 vols. Attempts to show the complete failure of the Reformation. Called out numerous replies from the ablest Protestant scholars—as Köstlin.

Hardwick: *A History of the Christian Church During the Reformation.* Has all the strength of the author's *Church in the Middle Ages.* 3d ed. by Bishop Stubbs.

Tulloch: *Leaders of the Reformation.*

Emerton: *Erasmus.* In Great Reformers Series.

Edgar: *The Genesis of Protestantism.* A recent clear and valuable statement of the issues of the Reformation.

Gray: *Aspects of Protestantism.* Recent, popular, and interesting.

For complete bibliographies the student will go to **Schaff**: *History of the Christian Church*—Vol. VI on the German Reformation, and Vol. VII on the Swiss Reformation; and to **Hurst**: *A History of the Christian Church*, Vol. II, just published, 1900.

For the Creeds he will go to **Schaff**: *Creeds of Christendom*—Vol. I for short history, and Vol. III for the Documents.

A. The Social and Political Condition of Europe at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century

The old social system which is now to be tried and found wanting is seen to be gathered around three principal centers. Each of these we have seen arise, grow to maturity and enter upon its period of decline. These centers are: The Hierarchy, with its head at Rome; Scholasticism, with its chief center at the University of Paris; and Feudalism, which seemed to be the only possible organization of society in the Middle Ages, which spread all over Europe, and which prepared the way for the national state—which in its turn is to be the political achievement of modern history.

Five new nations in various stages of development appear upon the scene, and are, with a single exception, to move on through conflict towards perfect political unity.

In Italy there is no unity. Naples, the Papal States, Florence, Venice, and Milan were the five chief and almost equally powerful centers which perpetually quarreled and fought among themselves.

In the mediæval period we saw the ecclesiastical system, with Rome for its head, grow up until for a short time it made good its claim to universality. We also saw the papal court become entirely corrupt and self-centered. We noted the scathing denunciation of literary men and political philosophers like Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Marsilius of Padua. Now, when we seek for the explanation of this political distraction, it becomes easy to believe that Machiavelli is right when he lays the responsibility at the door of the papacy. It was the popes who, moved by their selfish ambition, invited foreign invasion. Alexander VI. invited Charles VIII. of France to make his incursion

into Italy. Julius II., 1503-1513, was famous as a fighting pope. He formed the League of Cambray, which consisted of himself and France and Austria, for the purpose of humbling Venice. Then as soon as this was accomplished he repaid Louis XII., king of France, for the leading part he had taken, by forming the Holy League, in which Venice, Spain, England, and Austria united with him against France. The result of this league was that Louis was eliminated from Italian politics.

GERMANY is nominally the Holy Roman Empire, and so imperial, but really Germany is feudal. The idea that the empire is universal has been given up. The decentralizing tendencies of feudalism have here under favorable conditions become well developed realities. Yet there are many evidences that feudalism is beginning to decline. The vassals no longer render direct service. The wars of the princes are for the most part carried on by means of mercenaries. Gunpowder has worked a revolution. A military class comes into existence. The members of this class had no cause to serve, no principles for which they fought. They were at the service of the highest bidder.

The Hanseatic League was at this time in the height of its prosperity. Through its protection and discipline the free cities had become very powerful, so that they could resist the encroachments of the princes. They were centers of freedom. Within the cities were the patricians who represented the old families, and the guilds who represented the commonalty. Through numerous contests the guilds made their way to the front, and the government of the free cities became more and more democratic.*

*See **Zimmern:** *The Hansa Towns.*

The Mediæval Empire became familiar to the Germans and the German ideas of law and justice gradually gave way to the Roman law, and so instead of the growth of a code of German law the people came to think of themselves as subject to the Roman law. This change was naturally encouraged by the emperors who placed the imperial far above the kingly dignity.

Germany was already much under the influence of the humanistic movement which we have seen arise in Italy and spread far and wide. The universities of Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Erfurt had been founded in the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century universities were established at Rostock, Tübingen, Greifswald and Leipsic. While these seats of learning had never entirely neglected the Latin classics, they had been mainly concerned with theology and the scholastic philosophy. But now the interest in scholasticism grows less, while the interest in all classical literature—both Latin and Greek—becomes all-absorbing. The teachers in this humanistic awakening are Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Ulrich von Hutten.

But this new spirit of freedom which has been growing for so long extends beyond the more favored who are found in the trades and universities. It is quickening the lives of the people. They are beginning also to think and to demand their rights. Through such books as *Tyll Eulenspiegel*, and *Reineke Fuchs*, and *Narrenschiff*, they learn that a great many things are wrong. The clergy especially are held up to ridicule. The condition of the peasants and serfs is most deplorable, and the time is now near at hand when they will make their formal demands.

These facts are sufficient to show that the political

and social condition of Germany was chaotic. Different emperors conceived grand schemes for unification. But the times were not yet full. Many of the elements of progress are here, but they are not yet sufficiently disengaged for combination. This disengagement can come about only through convulsions and apparent confusion.

The first half of the sixteenth century was the period of SPAIN'S greatness. Through war, as the driving out of the Moors; through diplomacy; through fortune, as the discovery of America; and through marriages, Spain was able to attain her persistent purpose of unifying her people and extending her dominions to a very great extent. At the election of Charles V. in 1519 to the imperial crown Spain was the greatest nation in the world. But Charles was one of the worst misfits in history. He was mediæval to the core of his being, but he was confronted by conditions essentially modern, and conditions, too, that had within themselves the power to prevail. The result was naturally a mistaken governmental and ecclesiastical policy, which laid the foundation for Spanish misrule, tyranny, and cruelty, all of which have ruined the Spanish state both in its domestic and in its foreign relations.*

The duchy of FRANCE, starting with the Capetian dynasty, and the law of primogeniture, gradually through conquest, through purchase and through marriage, absorbed other duchies. And so by the opening of the sixteenth century her external unity became seemingly complete.

But the monarchy became absolute, the classes became separated, and the people were robbed and

*See **Lea**: *The Moriscos of Spain*, for concrete case.

starved through taxation and by armies passing through their country. The kings were led off by temptations to foreign conquests. Thus by various kinds of mismanagement France prepared the way for the fearful retribution that was to come upon her in the closing years of the eighteenth century.

In ENGLAND the spirit and method had from the beginning been altogether different from those of the Continent. The government very early by the very force of its antecedents became a constitutional monarchy. The laws were made by *king*, and *lords*, and *commons*, and *all* were subject to these laws. There was never any caste in England. The law of inheritance was that of primogeniture. The other sons and daughters became commoners. The nobility after having served their purpose had been pretty nearly destroyed in the Wars of the Roses. The two sides united in Henry VII., and development proceeds more and more towards solidarity in Henry VIII. and the rest of the Tudors.

These general and representative facts lead us to the conclusion that at the dawn of the Reformation European society was in a condition of unstable equilibrium. States entirely distinct and with natural boundaries have not yet been formed, but the formation is just about to take place. Great individuals are both short-sighted and selfish. The people as yet do not count for much. A spirit of national patriotism which shall enter the hearts of men and lead them to give their lives for their country if need be, has yet to be developed. It accordingly becomes clear to us that, taking the situation as it is, and taking man as he is, there remains but one way in which society can pass from chaos to order. That way leads through conflict.

These conflicts will be political, social, religious. They will often be so blended that no distinct lines of separation can be drawn. The Reformation affected society in all its phases.

B. The Revolution

When the cataclysm finally came it was thoroughgoing. There was no further hope of reformation within the church. The political and social institutions had outlived their usefulness. New intellectual and spiritual forces were now violently to break the bands that had so long held them, and to spring forth with irresistible power.

We are briefly to examine this new life in its leading manifestations.

A. ITALY

In Italy the Revolution was predominantly intellectual. The discontent, as we may again repeat, finds early literary expression in Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. It culminates in the paganized and paganizing Platonic Academy at Florence under the patronage of Lorenzo de Medici. The great lights of this school were Poliziano, Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola.

Other cities shared in this new enthusiasm, and we have as results the revival of the Greek and Latin classics; the towns as centers of intellectual life; a new zeal for beauty and elegant life as opposed to asceticism.

But, as has already been suggested, we are not to suppose that there was any conscious purpose of spiritual reformation in this intellectual awakening. "It was," says Sohm, p. 149, "pagan to the very core." The Italian cities were brilliant in culture, rich in natural talents, full of creative power, but immoral at heart, and "full of selfish animalism."

The influence of Italy was well nigh universal. Scholars flocked to her schools from all Christendom. Notable examples are Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet—the Englishmen, and Erasmus—the cosmopolitan. Through men like these the humanism that had its origin in Italy spread through all the countries north of the Alps, and was utilized for a better understanding of the Holy Scriptures.

Thus we can truly say that the Italian Renaissance helped the Christian Reformation: *constructively* by giving the Bible to the cultivated classes in the original languages—the Old Testament largely through the work of Reuchlin, and the New Testament mainly through the great scholarship of Erasmus; *destructively*, through its merciless exposures of the hypocrisy and dissoluteness of monasticism.

But while the Renaissance in Italy was largely intellectual and pagan, it should be remembered that nearly all through its growth and usurpations the hierarchy had strong opposition. This is seen so late as the eleventh century at Milan and Turin. There were sects, such as the Waldenses and Arnoldists, which had considerable influence. The doctrines of Luther soon found their way into Italy, and were warmly received. There were important centers at Ferrara, Modena, Florence, Venice, Bologna, Faenza, Lucca, Siena, Mantua, and Naples. But as soon as Rome could get the power Protestantism was remorselessly crushed, and this explains how it is that so little is written about the Reformation in Italy.*

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*See **McCrie:** *The Reformation in Italy*, an old but valuable book; and especially **Comba:** *I Nostri Protestanti.* 2 vols.—a new work of great value.

B. GERMANY

LITERATURE

Köstlin: *Martin Luther: His Life and Writings.*
Jacobs: *Martin Luther: The Hero of the Reformation.*
Kolde: *Martin Luther: eine Biographie.* 2 vols.
Michelet: *Martin Luther.*
Meurer: *Luther's Leben aus den Quellen Erzählt.*
Freytag: *Pictures of German Life.*
Freytag: *Doktor Luther.*
Richard: *Philip Melanchthon.*
Emerton: *Erasmus.*

We have mentioned the relapse into paganism that characterized the revival of learning in Italy. This resulted from the natural lack of earnestness that is so conspicuous among the peoples south of the Alps. North of the Alps the condition is quite the opposite. The Germans have always been noted for their deep and abiding seriousness. They very promptly seized upon all the essential truths of the Renaissance, and used them to awaken a genuine spiritual revival. This revival spread through all the nations of northern Europe, and, as we have seen, penetrated Italy itself.

The movement meant a reaction toward the primitive and apostolic faith. This phrase is often met at the origin of new orders or branches of monasticism. But now the idea has become general and involves all classes of people. The times are ripe for a general advance in the spiritual growth of individuals, and in the morality of all western Europe. The western world is also to be released from the "Judaic legislation that had fettered the Middle Ages."

As the hierarchy had grown Christ had gradually been dethroned and His place had been usurped by priests, and saints, and sacraments, and especially by

the worship of the Blessed Virgin. But now He is to be enthroned again as the true head of the church.

But these changes are to come hard, and they can come only through the leadership of divinely inspired genius.

Martin Luther's Career to his Excommunication in 1520

The German Reformation is almost synonymous with the tremendous personality of Martin Luther, 1483-1546. Martin Luther was born at a critical juncture in history, of humble parents, at Eisleben in 1483. He says, in his *Table Talk:* "I am the son of a peasant; my father, grandfather, and ancestors were true peasants." He was educated at Mansfield, Magdeburg, Eisenach, and Erfurt. At Erfurt he caught the spirit of humanism, but his deep religious nature shielded him from its grossness. His father's financial condition improved, so that he was able to give him excellent advantages at Erfurt. The father's great ambition for the son was that he might become a distinguished lawyer. But various experiences produced a radical change in the young man's heart. And so, to the deep disappointment of his father, he became an Augustinian monk. He chose the Observantists, who were the severest in their discipline. As an Augustinian monk he passed through profound religious experiences which shaped his destiny. For he was led to see clearly the radical difference between Christianity and the church. The man who exercised the greatest influence on Luther at this time was the Vicar-General, John von Staupitz—a man of great learning and genuine piety. Yet he was not at the time conscious of the complete change that had taken place at the center of his being.

In 1508 Luther was called to the new university which had been founded at Wittenberg in 1502 by Frederick the Wise. Luther's great spiritual adviser, Staupitz, was one of the chief councillors in its establishment. Among the other distinguished men who were connected with this new institution of learning were Martin Pollich, Doctor of Medicine, Law and Theology, who came from the University of Leipsic, and Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, whom we are to know later as Carlstadt. All of these men exerted an important influence upon Luther. But the matter of chief moment is that as a professor he was obliged to reduce his convictions to propositions. This is always a crucial point in the career of any man of thought. For it is then that he comes to a clear intellectual apprehension of his principles of action. But he did not yet feel the full force of his propositions. He was too good a son of the church to allow his reason full sway.

In 1511 the desire of his heart for many years was realized. He was sent to Rome to look after some matters pertaining to a dispute between certain convents. Here he was shocked at the corruption and immorality that abounded in the clergy, from the lowest even up to the papacy itself. It was while ascending the twenty-eight steps of the *Scala Santa*, or sacred stairway, said to have been brought to Rome from Pilate's judgment hall, that the passage, "The just shall live by faith," came into his mind with a new meaning and force. More clearly than ever did he see the absolute contradiction between the externalism of Rome, and the biblical doctrine of justification by faith.

But notwithstanding all this he remained outwardly loyal to Romanism. A great, deep nature like

Luther's could not change suddenly. The very slowness of his transition is one of his most convincing testimonials to the truth of the doctrines that he taught. When he returned to the university at Wittenberg, he lectured on Romans, Galatians, and the Psalms. In 1512 he was made Doctor of Theology, and because he placed the Bible far above the writings of the Fathers, and the scholastics—such as the Lombard and Thomas Aquinas—he chose to be known as "Doctor of the Sacred Scriptures."

For several centuries it had been customary for the church to grant letters of indulgence, by which the temporal penalties of the holder could be remitted, on account of some good deed that he had done. In 1506 they had been sold by Julius II. to obtain money for the building of the new church of St. Peter's at Rome. But the theory had degenerated in practice to a shocking contradiction. The whole doctrine had become an offense to true piety. Both the church and God were to let sin go unpunished, and even a change of heart was not necessary to eternal happiness.

When Leo X. came to the papal throne he wished to continue the building of St. Peter's church, and he was at war with the duke of Urbino. He accordingly found himself financially embarrassed. He took indulgences as a means of gathering funds. His agents were found in all the great nations. Tetzel, worldly, avaricious, and of bad reputation, became the agent for Mainz, Magdeburg, and Brandenburg. The shameless and commercial way in which he proceeded aroused the fiercest resentment in Luther. In 1516 he had already preached against indulgences. Fortunately for him the German princes found that their interests coincided with his doctrines—for they did

not want money to go out of their principalities to build up Italian enterprises. They accordingly were enthusiastic in their support of the fearless monk.

But Luther perhaps had not yet made up his mind that indulgences were altogether bad. He wanted light, and he thought that this light could best come through discussion. This led him to the formulation of the famous ninety-five theses, which he posted on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. He claimed that no indulgence of a pope can avail anything if there be not genuine repentance toward God. He invited all who might wish to oppose him to a joint debate. No one came. But the theses, to the surprise of Luther, aroused all Germany. It is said that within a month they were known throughout Christendom. They were translated into German, and so made available to the laity. They were looked upon with high favor in some quarters, while in others they stirred up great opposition. The publication of the theses formed a milestone in the progress of the Reformation.

In 1518 another great personality comes upon the scene—Philip Melanchthon. Melanchthon is to supplement Luther in all his deficiencies, and sustain him in the hours of his greatest need. He was born in 1497, with exceptional endowments. He was educated by his uncle, John Reuchlin—the great Hebraist. He, when very young, became a remarkable classical scholar, and was called of God to his responsible position at Wittenberg to become the "Teacher of Germany."

Of course the church had able defenders in Germany, and numerous attempts were made to silence Luther. At last, through the influence of Miltitz, he agreed to keep silent until there could be a final settlement, on

condition that his opponents would do the same. But Dr. Eck, a professor at Ingoldstadt, had been deeply stirred, and he could not keep still, and the result was the Leipsic disputation, 1519. In arranging for a debate with Carlstadt, Eck attacked Luther, and so the real disputation was between Luther and Eck. The debate hinged on the authority of councils. Luther denied such authority, relying on the Bible and the early Fathers. Luther was attended by Melanchthon. There was no agreement. Perhaps the most important result was Luther's acceptance of several of the Hussite propositions as thoroughly Christian. He thus denied the infallibility of a general council, and so took his first step towards a complete break with Rome.

After the Leipsic disputation Luther continued his attack on the papacy. The breach became wider and wider. Eck was very active, and largely through his influence Luther was excommunicated on the 15th of June, 1520, by Leo X. Eck was authorized to carry the bull to Germany. But the Germans were jealous of their rival in Italy. They did not readily accept a decision from that source, especially when the accused had not been heard.

Almost coincident with the excommunication three bold steps were taken by the reformer. The first of these was *The Appeal to the Nobility of the German Nation.* The main points in this appeal were: The rejection of papal interference in civil affairs; the denial of a special priesthood; the assertion of the priesthood of all believers; and the right of believers to choose their own ministers. Popes are subject to Matthew 18: 15-17.*

*For the document see **Wace and Buchheim:** *Luther's Primary Works*, pp. 17-92.

The second of these steps was his attack on the papacy known as *The Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, in October, 1520. Its leading points are: Denial of transubstantiation, and the substitution of the sacramental conjunction or real presence; denial of the right to withhold the cup from the laity; an attack on the sacrifice of the mass; and the reduction of the sacraments from seven to two; a rejection of the efficacy of pilgrimages, fastings and other ordinances which interfere with religious freedom.*

The third step was the public burning of the bull of excommunication in the market-place at Wittenberg, on the 10th of December, 1520. This act was the more easy because the bull was generally regarded as an infringement on the rights of the civil power.

The net result of all these combined actions was that the intrepid monk had broken with Rome, and was out. He was entirely free to take his own course.

Luther and the Humanists

Interests that in many points were identical soon brought Luther and the humanists into relations more or less close. As soon as the humanists were convinced that Luther was more than an ordinary monk seeking his own selfish ends, but rather a man with great ideas involving all the interests of Germany, they warmly espoused his cause. There were two classes of these humanists. The first class may be designated as the religious humanists. The whole purpose of their researches into the philosophy and literature of the ancients was that they might throw new light upon the Word of God, and thus be able to rid it of the human accretions which had so greatly obscured it.

*For document see **Wace and Buchheim**, pp. 241-245.

The leading representatives of this class were Reuchlin, Melanchthon, and Erasmus.

But there was a second class who may be regarded as secular humanists. Their great purpose was not merely literary but patriotic. They burned with indignation as they reflected upon the encroachments that Italy and especially the papacy had made upon the liberties of the German people. Luther's appeal to the nobility had stirred them. They were ready to contribute to the movement with both pen and sword. The leading spirit among these humanists was Ulrich von Hutten. He was a poet and a prose writer. He edited the work of Laurentius Valla, which proved the falsity of The Donation of Constantine—a forgery that had helped to sustain the temporal power of the papacy for centuries. This came out in 1520. He was also one of the chief contributors to the *Epistles of Obscure Men.* These epistles were slashing satires on mediævalism. They laid bare the crimes of the clergy, and the scandals of the papal court. Their influence was far-reaching—but their tone was an occasion of anxiety to the deeply religious nature of Luther, who doubted whether the cause of Christ could be advanced by productions of this kind.

Hutten won over the wealthy and influential Franz von Sickingen, whose attack upon the Archbishop of Treves was a failure resulting in the death of Sickingen.

Luther and Charles V.

Luther had now completely broken with the church, and he had a very large following in Germany. The princes regarded him as their champion; the humanists had discovered that he was no mere selfish and indolent

monk, and had espoused his cause with only too great zeal; the lesser nobility expect to utilize the movement in their own interests; the peasants see hope for relief from their wretched condition. All these facts seem favorable, but each one of them presents a problem of extreme difficulty, and, taken in combination, the general problem is too complicated for solution.

At this juncture Charles the Fifth appears upon the scene, 1519. Here is a great opportunity for him. How will he improve it? By marriages diplomatically contracted by his ancestors he finds himself at the head of the largest extent of territory since the empire. But Charles was essentially a man of the past. He had no depth of religious conviction, says Häusser, and he could not understand it in others. To him the new order of things, political, religious and social, was a thing only to be destroyed. There was no important particular in which he was not a misfit.

a. The Diet of Worms

We may now trace the Reformation as it advanced under his reign.

The occasion of the emperor's first visit to Germany was the Diet of Worms, 1521. Leo X., who had at first regarded Luther simply as a refractory monk, was now thoroughly aroused, and he urged the emperor to put him under the ban of the empire. He was accordingly summoned, and set out for Worms under the safe conduct of the emperor. He had an ovation all the way. On the first day when he appeared before the emperor and the princes he was probably dazed by the splendor, and asked time for consideration. But on the following day he gave his famous answer: "I can

and will retract nothing, for it is neither safe nor expedient to act against conscience. Here I stand; I can do nothing else. God help me. Amen."

Charles issued the Edict of Worms. Luther's writings were condemned. He was put under the ban of the empire and made an outlaw. Specifically this edict meant that no one could give him food or shelter; that whoever should meet him should seize him and turn him over to the emperor; and that as soon as he shall be apprehended, "it will be in order to proceed to other appropriate remedies against this severe, virulent disease, . . . the said Martin Luther shall hereafter be held and esteemed by each and all of us as a limb cut off from the church of God, an obstinate schismatic and manifest heretic."

The edict was to go into effect the moment the safe conduct expired.*

b. Luther at the Wartburg

Our reformer did not have any time to waste. He set out for Wittenberg as promptly as possible. But on the way he was captured by his friends in disguise. They took him to the Wartburg, where he remained for almost ten months Much of this time was spent in writing, and in laying plans for the great work just before him. But his chief work during this period of confinement was his translation of the New Testament into the standard dialect of Saxony. When the Old Testament was added the result was a work that spiritualized Germany and made the German language. He threw aside the theological style of writing. He sought "the simplest and most expressive qualities of the German language in the mouths of the German

*For the document see **Vedder**: *Leaflets No. 3.*

people." Said he: "I cannot use the words heard in the castles and courts. . . . I have exerted myself, in translating, to give pure and clear German. And it has verily happened that we have sought and questioned a fortnight, three, four weeks, for a single word, and yet it was not always found. In Job, we so labored, Philip Melanchthon, Aurogallus, and I, that in four days we sometimes hardly finished three lines." The entire Bible was first published complete in 1534.

For various reasons the Edict of Worms was not executed. Among these reasons was the lukewarmness of the Council of Regency, whose business it was to conduct the government during the emperor's absence. The council itself was favorable to reform. But even if it had not been, it was too wise to go in the face of public opinion, which was overwhelmingly on Luther's side. In 1522 occurred the first Diet of Nuremberg, the headquarters of the council. This diet, despite the demand of Pope Adrian VI. that the edict should be enforced, practically annulled it. At the second Diet of Nuremberg Clement VII. made the same demand and got an evasive answer. The matter was thus really left in the hands of the several princes.

c. Excesses Among the Reformers

It always happens, when fundamental changes are taking place in history, that extreme and even lawless elements get loose and by their excesses embarrass the movement. It was so in the case of the German Reformation. These excesses were religious, political, and social.

First there were the Zwickau Prophets. These people, led by Claus Storch of Zwickau (1521), allowed their religious zeal to consume them. They believed

that a visible kingdom of God was just about to be set up on earth. Its subjects were to be guided by an inner light which should even set aside the Holy Scriptures. Each one should in large measure be a law unto himself. These prophets believed that the end of the world was near at hand, and that they should hasten its coming. They accordingly felt called upon to overthrow existing institutions. They went to Wittenberg, and were soon followed by Thomas Münster, the Zwickau pastor. They were welcomed by Carlstadt, who rejected human learning, and advised the students to turn their attention to manual labor. Wittenberg soon became a scene of anarchy. Melanchthon was in perplexity, and it looked as if the good work of the Reformation were about to be destroyed. The news of this distressing condition reached Luther at the Wartburg, and despite the Elector's protest, and at the risk of his life, he returned to Wittenberg, and after several powerful sermons, he restored order. He did not return to his retreat.

The political excesses were manifested in the Knights' War, which occurred in 1524. We have already seen that the knights, or lesser German nobility, expected great things from the Lutheran movement. Their position was anomalous. "While they claimed to be independent of any power except the emperor, they were excluded from all share in the diets." Thus they fought on their own lines. Their leaders were Ulrich von Hutten, and Franz von Sickingen. The knights were soon defeated, and events led to the convention of Ratisbon in 1524. A league of Catholic powers was formed, and Germany was divided into two hostile camps, and we have a prophecy of the horrors of the Thirty Years' War.

This contest of the knights has been called "a war of leaders without soldiers." But "at the same time," says **Lodge**—*History of Modern Europe*—"the power of the Council of Regency and the Imperial Chamber, which depended upon German unity, was lessened, and the constitution of these assemblies altered. Thus the central authority was weakened just at a time when it was most wanted to preserve order."

The third excess was mainly social in its character. It is known as the Peasants' War, and occurred in 1525. We have already seen that of all the classes in Germany the most depressed and enslaved was that of the peasants. So far the peasant had made no progress toward freedom. He was simply the tool of his heartless master, and there was no legal or constitutional avenue through which he could make an appeal for justice. His only recourse was rebellion, and in his rebellion he could only strike at random. He had expressed himself already in outbreaks at Kempenin 1492, at Elsass in 1490, and in the Black Forest in 1513.

We have seen how Carlstadt was overcome at Wittenberg. That he was altogether wrong will hardly be claimed by any judicial mind. There now seemed but one road left open to him. It was the way of the agitator. He, with others, harangued the peasants, and soon the spirit of rebellion became general. They adopted for their standard the Bundschue—or tied shoe—as contrasted with the buckled shoe of the nobility. There was still a possiblity of avoiding conflicts if the nobility would use reason. But this they would not do. The Twelve Articles of the Peasant League in southern Germany are so important that justice to the peasants demands that they be given in full, because

they contain more history than many pages of commentary. They are as follows:

1st. "The congregations are to select their ministers."

2d. "The great tithe [of corn] is to be paid, but the small tithes [of animals] are to be abolished."

3d. "The peasants are to be free, and no longer bondsmen."

4th. "Game, fowls and fish are to be free as God created them."

5th. "Fuel from the woods to be free to all."

6th. "Compulsory service to be no longer unlimited."

7th. "All service beyond the contract to be paid for in wages."

8th. "Rents to be regulated afresh in proportion to the value of the land."

9th. "Arbitrary punishments to be put an end to."

10th. "Common pastures and fields to be restored."

11th. "Heriots to be abolished."

12th. "These propositions to be tested by Scripture, and if found contrary to that are not to stand."

The peasants naturally expected that Luther, being the son of a peasant, would take their side. But the situation for him was very complicated and perplexing. He recognized the selfishness and guilt of the princes, and appealed to them that they should treat the peasants with kindness. But he also warned the peasants that the use of physical force was no part of a Christian movement.

The princes, however, refused to recognize the reasonable demands of the peasants, and the rebellion broke out. Luther, dreading a reign of fanaticism and anarchy, wrote his tract *Against the Murderous Robber*

*Peasants.** It was a dreadful war. Many of the greatest monuments of the Middle Ages were destroyed, especially in southern Germany. But in the end the peasants were put down, and no mercy was shown them. They were right in most of their demands, but they gained little by war. Economical and spiritual forces were moving toward their side. Their method should have been agitation, but not violence. They were not only pitilessly slaughtered, but their revolt made the conservative princes still more conservative, and the Reformation was proportionately retarded.

In 1526 the Treaty of Madrid was signed by Charles V., and Francis I., who since the battle of Pavia had been the prisoner of Charles. Among other things in this treaty they agreed to unite in the extirpation of heresy. Had this purpose been carried out, the Reformation would have been seriously set back. But the selfish interest of both these princes and of the pope came into conflict, and the calamity was averted.

The first Diet of Spires was held in June, 1526. It was a recess in which we have the earliest form of the later *cujus regio ejus religio.* Each state was to be responsible only to God and his Imperial Majesty.

d. Events Indicating the Progress of Reform

These were:

1. Luther's marriage to Catherine von Bora—an escaped nun—June 16th, 1525. This at first was made the cause of scandal, not only among the Romanists, but among the reformers also. But Luther was only consistent—for he had emphasized the duty of marriage. He did not expect to live long, and, as he said, he wanted to "defy the devil before he died by

*See **Vedder:** *Leaflets No. 4*, for the document.

marriage, even though it might be nothing more than an engagement like Joseph's." There was not the least basis for the gossip that this marriage occasioned.

2. Services in German began to be common. It was a great advance when the worshipers could hear the service in their own language, and not in the Latin, which most of them could not understand.

3. Luther's translation of the Bible was eagerly sought, and everywhere adopted. He also gave great prominence to singing. Many of the old hymns were translated into German. He himself composed many hymns and poems. Among these is the one which has been called "the Marseillaise of the Reformation," beginning, "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*," based on the forty-sixth psalm.

4. Great emphasis was put upon preaching. If the preachers were without sufficient training, they were asked to read printed sermons to the congregation. In this way the didactic element in worship pushed the liturgic element into the background, where it properly belonged.

5. The second Diet of Spires was held in 1529. It disregarded the action of the first Diet of Spires, 1526, and returned to the Edict of Worms. But there was a strong minority protest, and for the first time the name "Protestant" was given to the Reformers.*

6. In the same year the Conference at Marburg was held, in which, unfortunately, Luther and Zwingli were unable to agree on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. But it is especially interesting because incidentally it brought into existence the fifteen propositions which later became the basis of the Lutheran symbolism. At Schwabach the same month, October

*See **Vedder**: *Leaflets No. 1*, for the document.

15th, the number of propositions increased to seventeen, and the substance was finally embodied in the Augsburg Confession in 1530.

By the Peace of Cambrai the differences between Charles V. and Francis I. are finally settled, the Turks, who have been a menace in the eastern part of the empire, have been driven back, and now Charles can give his undivided attention to the religious problem.

The conference at Marburg had widened the breach between the Reformers. The emperor was sure that if he could not persuade them to return to the church he could compel them to do so.

7. The Diet of Augsburg met in June, 1530, to seek for a basis of agreement. Luther remained behind at the castle of Coburg in the territory of John—Frederick the Wise having died in 1525. From this safe retreat he managed the Protestant side of the Conference.

There were two principal results of this diet. The first was the great Confession of Augsburg,* which has been so fundamental in subsequent Protestant creeds.

The second result was an edict which forbade the teaching of Protestant doctrines, and commanded all men to return to the Roman church.

All hope of reconciliation was now abandoned—for the Protestants were as determined as the Romanists.

8. The Schmalkald League. A natural consequence of the Diet of Augsburg was the League of Schmalkald. This was a league of Protestants for mutual defense, 1531. War must have followed at once but for the opportune reappearance of the Turk.

*For the best history of the confession in English see **Stuckenberg**: *History of the Augsburg Confession.* 2d Ed., 1897.

Charles was obliged to postpone his measures of repression and come to terms with the Protestants in the Peace of Nuremberg. By the terms of this peace the final settlement of the religious question was to be referred to a future conference. The Protestants made diligent use of this recess, and gained very rapidly. But these gains aroused the Romanists also to greater activity, and they formed the Holy League in 1538.

A final attempt to solve the religious problem was made at Ratisbon in 1541. The leaders were Melanchthon for the Protestants and Contarini for the Romanists. Luther would not attend, because he had no confidence in any further negotiations with Rome. The conference amounted to nothing.

The Death of Luther

On the 18th of February, 1546, the great reformer went to his reward. From the beginning of his professorship in 1508 until his death he had been busy with tongue and pen. His burdens would have crushed any but a transcendent genius. His theology had grown up bit by bit, as the case demanded, to meet the immediate needs. In his last days he seemed to vacillate when he was sick at heart. But this despondency was only the natural physical and mental reaction from the tremendous strain that he had been under without relaxation for forty years.

The death of Luther spared him the sorrow of witnessing the horrors of the Schmalkaldic War; the temporary defection of Maurice of Saxony; and the defeat of the Protestants at Mühlberg in 1547, in which John, Elector of Saxony, was captured by the emperor, who became complete master of Germany.

But, fortunately for the Protestants, a difference again arose between Charles and the pope, Paul III. The Council of Trent had convened in 1545. Charles objected that instead of dealing first with practical and immediately urgent matters, they had concerned themselves with doctrinal aberrations. Paul, on the other hand, was alarmed at the growth of the empire, which might easily encroach on his prerogatives. He ordered the Council of Trent transferred to Bologna. Charles ordered it back. At last the emperor, despairing of general councils as a means of pacifying the empire, at the Diet of Augsburg, 1548, issued the Augsburg Interim, according to which the Protestants and Romanists were to be mutually respectful until a western council could settle the questions that were involved. This Interim was not satisfactory to either side. The Protestants of northern Germany objected to it as an unworthy concession, and it was accordingly modified into the Leipsic Interim which was more congenial to Protestantism.

The Peace of Ausburg (*1555*)

Events now led up to another diet at Augsburg. The result was the famous Peace of Augsburg. This Peace recognized the right of each church to exist in Germany, and to have its own creed. The point of chief importance here is that the Reformation now has a legal recognition. The principle of the peace is: *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, which was laid down at the first Diet at Spires, 1526. That is to say, each prince is to choose what shall be the religion of his dominion. But if a prelate or spiritual prince became a Protestant he must give up his office and its revenues. Moreover, no form of Protestantism is to be recognized

except the Lutheran, and this in face of the fact that the Zwinglians and Calvinists were now the most active and aggressive of the Protestant sects. Although liberty of the individual conscience was advocated, it, for obvious reasons, received little favor. Protestants and Romanists were agreed on this point. Ferdinand, who represented Charles at the Diet, declared that he would rather let the whole Peace fall to the ground than give his consent to this clause; he would rather "mount his horse and ride home, and leave the Diet to its own devices." The Peace of Augsburg gave the finishing stroke to the misconceived and misguided policy of Charles V., whose abdication followed in the autumn of 1556. In several respects the peace indicated that a milestone in the struggle for freedom had been reached. Yet it pleased no party, and so was only a recess. We see in it a clear forecast of the terrible Thirty Years' War, which came on early in the next century.

C. SWITZERLAND

Contemporaneously with the tremendous movement in Germany the spirit of reform was also asserting itself in Switzerland only less powerfully. It is customary to treat the Reformation in this historic land of freedom under the captions of the Reformation in German Switzerland, and the Reformation in French Switzerland. The first has its center at Zurich, the second at Geneva.

The Reformation in German Switzerland

The great personality of this side of the Swiss movement was Ulrich Zwingli, 1484-1531.

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Jackson: *Selections from Zwingli.* This recent and important work contains five of Zwingli's works. Of these the *First Zurich Disputation*, and *The Refutation of Baptist Tricks* should be especially mentioned.

At the opening of the sixteenth century Switzerland was nominally a part of the Holy Roman Empire, but really it was a confederation of independent cantons. It did not think of itself as in any sense subject to Maximilian. It recognized only the Federal Council as supreme. Each canton was democratic. As a result the Swiss surpassed all other Europeans in sturdiness and intelligence. This fact made them famous as soldiers, and they were sought in nearly all the European wars of conquest—especially those which were waged against Italy. While this mercenary

activity brought a large income to Switzerland, it reacted detrimentally in the corruption of the young men who became mercenaries.

It was to be expected that Switzerland would eagerly accept the teachings of humanism, but with less discrimination than the more sober Germans farther north.

Thus politically and intellectually the people were prepared for the Reformation.

All things were thus made ready for the appearance of a leader. Zwingli was born at Wildhaus in the present Canton of St. Gall, of humble but highly respectable parents. His elementary education was received at Basel and Bern. His teacher at Bern was the distinguished humanist, Heinrich Wölfin. He spent two years with this teacher, and two more years at Vienna in classical study. He then returned to Basel as a teacher of Latin and a student of philosophy. His great teacher now is Thomas Wyttenbach, who belonged to the same school as Erasmus. He said: "The time is at hand when the ancient faith shall be restored according to the Word of God. Indulgences are a Roman snare and a delusion." Zwingli was deeply moved by the lectures which elaborated the thoughts contained in these sentences. He soon found himself in perfect accord with the methods of the humanists. He sought the original sources for all truth. This led him back to the Scriptures, by which later religious development must be tested.

Many experiences led him to doubt the authority of the Roman church. Once he found an old copy of the mass book, and to his surprise he found that it was then customary to give both bread and wine to the

communicants instead of bread alone. This raised the question: "Can the church which claims to be unchangeable, and yet makes such alterations in its liturgy, possess the fundamental element of truth?"

Once, when he was reproved for refusing to say mass, he said: "Either the host is my God or it is not. If it is my God, I am unworthy to look upon Him, much less to touch Him. If it is not my God, I will not lend myself to the dissemination of error."

That Zwingli's development was in the main independent of Luther's is generally admitted, but that he was influenced to a considerable extent by the Saxon reformers must be granted. But by environment and by nature he was very different. He had no such deep and searching personal experience as Luther. He did not start from the religious needs of the people, so much as from the more purely intellectual side, from knowledge colored by his humanistic culture. The Zwinglians had a decided distaste for mysticism, and in their desire to simplify the outward forms of worship, they banished all images from the church and left only the Word.*

Zwingli became pastor at Glarus in 1506. Here for several years he devoted himself to the classics—and developed still further that fondness for the Greek and Roman philosophers which gave a tone to all his later work. He went on an Italian campaign as chaplain in 1515. Here he got many unfavorable impressions of the papal system. In 1516 he was transferred to Einsiedeln. The black image of the Virgin Mary, said to have fallen from heaven, was here, and attracted many pilgrims. It was here, too, that his opposition to indulgences, which had been long in

*Sohm. pp., 176.

preparation took definite form. Through his preaching the Canton of Zurich refused admission to Samson, the papal emissary. But this opposition did not amount to a collision with the papacy. He is not yet a full-fledged reformer.

His first real conflict with the papacy took place in 1521, when the pope, Leo X., demanded Swiss troops to march against the French. He resisted this demand, but was not successful.

He expressed himself on the subject of mercenary warfare as follows: "Those who risk their life in battle for truth, religion, righteousness and country are faithful and godly men. But, as for those mercenary and bloodthirsty soldiers who march to battle for filthy lucre's sake, I believe that there is nothing on earth more godless and criminal than their conduct, and that such soldiers deserve the name of free-booters and not of Christians."

But he was soon aroused to attack the papacy, fasting, clerical celibacy. He urged the futility of all human institutions, and taught that the Scriptures alone were the source of authority. His teaching spread and caused a general ferment. The result was a formal charge against him and his followers by the bishop of Constance in 1522. An appeal was made to the people of Zurich to silence him. The outcome was Zwingli's *Sixty-Seven Theses,* or *Articles.* These theses maintained: The absolute supremacy of Christ; the sufficiency of a direct approach to Christ; the rejection of the mass as a continuation of the sacrifice of Christ, who died once for all. Moreover, they denounced hypocrisy. "Nothing," says he, "is more displeasing to God than hypocrisy. It follows, therefore, that everything which assumes sanctity in the

sight of man is folly. This condemns cowls, symbols, vestments, and tonsures."

Opposition steadily arose. He was accused of heresy, and at last at his own request a disputation was held, not in Latin, but in the vulgar tongue. In this disputation, and in the presence of six hundred persons representing the Council, the clergy, and the burghers, and three representatives of the bishop of Constance, Zwingli defended himself from the Greek, Latin and Hebrew Scriptures. His sixty-seven theses, he claimed, contained his doctrine reduced to propositions. The replies to him were evasive. After an adjournment the people reassembled and the burgomaster rendered the decision of the Council as follows: "Since no one has been able to convict Master Ulrich Zwingli of error, we, the Burgomaster and the Lesser and Greater Councils of Zurich, after mutual deliberation, have determined that Master Ulrich Zwingli shall continue to preach the genuine divine Scriptures according to the Spirit of God to the best of his ability. We also command all other priests, pastors, and preachers to preach nothing else in public except what can be proved from the Holy Gospel and the canonical Scriptures."

In 1525 the canton threw off the authority of the Bishop. In this same year Zwingli published his great work, *Commentary on True and False Religion.* It was a systematic statement of the ideas that had been growing in his mind from the earliest days of his student life. From the outline of his theses it will be seen that logically he would advance far beyond Luther. The idea of the absolute sovereignty of God was fundamental with him. It was carried to the extent of subordinating to the last degree all external

means of grace. These reforms were substantially carried out in the church at Zurich.

It is easy enough to understand how the Reformation in Switzerland would differ from that in Germany in several important points. In the first place Luther did not entirely come out of Romanism, while Zwingli was at some points extreme in his revolt. This is seen in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther held to a real presence still. Zwingli regarded the Supper as only a memorial of the Lord. Remembering then the intensity of conviction that prevailed at the time we could not expect the conference at Marburg to have had a different ending.

In the second place we have noted the difference in the political organization of the two countries. The existence of temporal princes in Germany caused Lutheranism, despite any preferences it may have had to the contrary, to strengthen these princes.

But the absence of temporal princes in Switzerland as naturally placed the settlement of church matters in the hands of the congregation.

Practically Zwingli believed in a theocracy. In his attempt to reorganize the federal constitution so as to secure equality of votes he aroused the four forest cantons—Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden and Lucerne. Their political interest caused them to adhere to Romanism. This caused a war in 1529 in which the four cantons were defeated. By the first Peace of Cappel the expenses of the war were paid by them, and the form of religion was determined by the majority of the congregations. In 1531 the war was renewed, Zurich was defeated, and Zwingli, whose duties as chaplain required him to be present, was slain. "The second Peace of Cappel so far confirmed

the previous treaty that it allowed each canton to settle its own religious affairs without external interference. Thus in Switzerland, as in Germany, the Reformation produced religious disunion . . . " (**Lodge**: *Modern Europe*).

The Reformation extended from Zurich to other important cantons in Switzerland. Basle has been called "the most enlightened spot in Switzerland." And so, while Zwingli was doing his work at Zurich, and among the cantons, the movement was going ahead at Basle—chiefly through the influence of Oecolampadius.

Zwingli's work was continued by Henry Bullinger. He was born in 1504, educated at Emmerich in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life; studied theology at Cologne; passed from scholasticism to the earlier Fathers; then through the writings of Luther and Melanchthon to the Bible. He earnestly sought to carry out Zwingli's doctrine of the Eucharist. He developed it in a direction which made a union with Calvin's doctrine possible. (**Moeller**: *Reformation.*)

The Reformation in French Switzerland

The tyranny and corruption and doctrinal errors of the papacy had brought forth the same fruits in France as in the rest of Christendom, and from far back in the Middle Ages the spirit of resistance had manifested itself. This had been especially true in southern France. The new learning had made its way into the French court, and was received with enthusiasm by Francis I. The town of Meaux, about twenty-five miles east of Paris, had become a center of reformatory forces, and for a time it looked as if it might rival Wittenberg. Lefevre announced the doctrine of

Justification by Faith five years before Luther, but French society was not ready for its reception. As the German Reformation developed, its influence reached France and aroused the hierarchy. The result was that the center at Meaux was broken up. Many of the leaders either went back to Romanism or remained lukewarm. Lefevre did not have the courage of his convictions. But before he was silenced he did a great work,—and Meaux gave William Farel to the world, and Farel proved to be the link which in the providence of God connected John Calvin to Geneva and the Reformation. And so when Zwingli came to his untimely end in 1531 his work, so well begun, was to be taken up, largely reinforced, and carried on to marvelous proportions. As "Lutheranism" spread through France, and "infected" the University of Paris, the opposition of the hierarchy became decisive. Francis I., after wavering, went over to the side of Romanism, and French Protestants were no longer safe within the borders of France. Farel and Calvin, with others, became refugees until they found a permanent abiding place in Geneva.

The government of Geneva at this time was threefold, being divided between the bishop, the duke of Savoy, and the independent burghers who were supported by the Swiss Confederation. After a conflict of ten years the burghers overcame the combined opposition of the duke and the bishop. In 1536, the date of Calvin's arrival in Geneva, the city had become independent, having but little connection with the Swiss Confederation.

a. The Beginnings of the Reformation at Geneva

William Farel (1489-1565) has been very properly

called the "Elijah of the French Reformation." After leaving Meaux he was to be further prepared for his work by his sojourn at Basle, where he converted Pellican the Franciscan, reproved Erasmus for his timidity, and whence he was banished. He then went to Strasburg, where he met Bucer and Capito,—and then to Neufchatel, which he won for the Reformation. He reached Geneva in 1532. Already the doctrines of Zwingli had reached Geneva through the influence of Berne.

Humanism had also permeated the town, and along with its learning had come its pagan grossness. Thus directly and indirectly the way had been prepared for the advent of the fiery and persistent reformer.

There was probably no city in Europe that had sunk lower in immorality than Geneva. The bishops and the nobility led the way. The lower clergy fell into line, and the burghers were by no means innocent. The skeptical, licentious, and superstitious city was naturally enough always a good market for indulgences.

This was the condition of things that Farel had to meet. He could not proceed very far without giving offence on all sides. But Farel was not afraid. He preached violently against the Roman antichrist, and soon stirred up a determined opposition.

In 1533 Farel conducted a disputation. This disputation was followed by acts of violence by those who were on his side, and at a meeting of the Council on the 27th day of August, 1535, Romanism was abolished and Protestantism was made the religion of the city. But a compulsory religion can never reform the morals of a community, even though it be Protestantism. The lives of the people did not greatly improve.

The destructive part of the work had been successfully accomplished by Farel and his followers. But for the far more difficult work of construction Geneva waited in suspense.

It was just at this critical moment that John Calvin (1509-1565), on his way from Italy to Basle, stopped over night at Geneva—was discovered by Farel and compelled to remain.

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Schaff: *History of Christian Church.* Vol. 7. Defence of Calvin in the Servetus affair.

The works of **Calvin** are translated in 52 volumes.

John Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy. He was first educated for the priesthood at Paris, and afterwards for the law at Orleans and Bourges. At Bourges he met Wolmar, who was the professor of Greek and Hebrew. Wolmar had been a pupil of Lefevre. The exact influence that he had upon Calvin

is unknown, but it seems certain that he called his attention to the Greek New Testament. In some way he learned the doctrines of Luther and Melanchthon, and was moved by them to make an independent investigation of all the claims of the Roman church. Calvin was a typical Frenchman in his orderly mind so logically exact and rigid. When he began to express his new views there could be no question as to where he stood. Consequently he was involved in the persecutions of 1534, and driven from France. But he continued his studies in Italy and Germany.

When he was converted is still a matter of dispute. The two views that command attention are taken respectively by Lange and Doumergue.

A mind constituted and trained as Calvin's was would naturally seek a systematic expression of what it conceived to be the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation. And so we have his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, the first edition of which appeared in 1536, dedicated to Francis I.

The doctrines of the Reformation, he said, were only the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. He meant the *Institutes* as an introduction to the Scriptures, and as a vindication of the Reformation. It was based upon the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in God the Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and (in a latter edition) in the Holy Catholic Church." The *Institutes*, accordingly, consists of four parts: God the Father; God the Son; God the Holy Ghost; and the Catholic Church.

The core of Calvin's theological system is found in his doctrine of God. To him God is the essence of all perfection. The universe and all its creatures are absolutely dependent upon Him. In the hands of a

remorseless logician like Calvin the consequences would seem to lead directly to universal fatalism. The distinguishing features of Calvinism are, therefore, the "divine decree, predestination, election, total depravity, irresistible grace, and everlasting perseverance of the elect" (**Zenos**, p. 216). He took a mediating position between Luther and Zwingli on the Lord's Supper.

The *Institutes* is probably the greatest treatise on systematic theology that has ever appeared. It was great not only as a contribution to theology, but it was epoch-making in the growth of the French language and literature.

The *Institutes*, as we have observed, appeared in 1536, the same year in which he entered upon his career as a reformer. In this respect Calvin differed from Luther. He had his theological system to start with—and all the subsequent editions of the *Institutes* contained nothing more than elaborations and modifications of the principles laid down in the first edition. Luther, on the other hand, made his theology as occasion called for it.

b. Calvin at Geneva

Farel had begun the work of reformation at Geneva, but he could not carry it through to a successful issue. This was perfectly clear in his own mind, and when he found Calvin in Geneva he rightly took it as a leading of Providence. Calvin had the requisite qualifications for such a work. They were sincerity, an orderly mind which had been trained in the law, the gift of expression, and great persistency. But there were some serious drawbacks. One was his natural timidity, which, when overcome, was sure to go to the opposite

extreme. Another was that his humanism was defective—so much so that some have claimed that he was not a humanist at all. The truer view probably is that he appropriated only the stoical elements of humanism.

He at once became the source of authority in Geneva, and his doctrines were vigorously applied. Soon the city noted for its dissoluteness became the most orderly city in Europe. But this reformation was too summary. A general spirit of revolt expressed itself in the banishment of the two reformers in the spring of 1538. Then the city fell back into its old customs—and the people after three years were glad to recall Calvin and Farel, and submit to their leadership. For twenty-four years, then, Geneva was ruled according to the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances.* The preface indicates the general character of these ordinances: "The spiritual regimen, which God has ordained in His church, reduced to a proper form, to be observed and have place in the city of Geneva."

God has established four orders of officers for the church. They are:

1st. The Pastors, or overseers or bishops. It is their duty to explain the word, dispense the sacraments, and, in co-operation with the elders, to exercise discipline. The pastors were elected by the ministers, appointed by the magistrates with the approval of the people, and accountable to the consistory, and the city council.

2d. The Teachers. These were the professors in the University, and the teachers in the lower schools.

3d. The Elders. It was their duty to exercise discipline. They must be members of the council of the city, by which they were appointed with the advice of

the pastors. "In conjunction with the pastors they made a yearly visitation of their districts and tested in some simple way the faith and conduct of every member of the church" (**Lindsay**).

In the consistory were combined the legislative and executive functions of the church. This court consisted of six city clergy, and twelve deputies of the council, or the elders.

4th. The Deacons. The deacons were appointed by the city council. It was their duty to care for the poor and the sick.

It is well known that in the *Institutes* Calvin expressed himself unequivocally against the organic union of church and state. But in the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* there is a complete blending of the civil and ecclesiastical. This appears to show that Calvin was not all-powerful in the drafting of these Ordinances, but rather that he was forced into a compromise. This fact should not be forgotten in making the final estimate of the Genevan reformer.

Although Calvin's ideas were for the most part carried out to the letter, it was only in the face of bitter opposition from a politico-religious party known as the *Libertines*. Many of the natives objected to the growing influence of Frenchmen in the affairs of the city. There were also many religious extremists who denied the personality of God, and advocated free love. Against all these disturbers of the peace the consistory proceeded without compunction. "Within the space of five years 58 death sentences, and 76 banishments were carried out amongst the inhabitants of Geneva, numbering 20,000" (**Moeller**).

The execution of Servetus, October 23, 1553, has attracted the attention of all the world, and despite all

palliating circumstances remains the darkest page in the history of the Genevan Reformation.

c. Calvin and the Swiss Reformation

As soon as matters were sufficiently secure at Geneva Calvin sought to extend his influence throughout Switzerland. He appreciated what Zwingli had done, and desired that there might be a union of all the Swiss reformatory forces. But at first the Zwinglians were suspicious of him. They thought that he and Farel were "Lutherans." But Bullinger and Calvin were able to compromise, and the outcome is the *Consensus Tigurinus*, 1549. From this union the Reformed Church comes into existence.

*d. Theodore Beza (1519-1605)**

When Calvin died in 1564 his work did not lag for want of a worthy successor. Theodore Beza had been his friend and fellow worker. He was an accomplished classical scholar, and by nature as well as training he was in full sympathy with the Calvinistic theology. Under his administration the Academy became famous, and students came from all western Europe. Among these students was Arminius, who was to lead the great revolt against Calvinism in the Netherlands. Beza was a prominent figure in the French Reformation, and has been called "in some sense the bishop of the Huguenots."

D. ENGLAND

LITERATURE

Ransome: *History of England.* Advanced.
Gardiner: *History of England.*

*See **Baird**: *Theodore Beza.*

Terry: *A History of England*, new and excellent.

Burnet: *History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* Pocock's ed.

Gee and Hardy: *Documents Illustrative of English Church History.*

Kendall: *Source Book of English History.*

Beckett: *The English Reformation.*

Geikie: *The English Reformation.*

Clark: *The English Reformation.*

Perry, G. G.: *The Reformation in England.*

Blunt: *The Reformation of the Church of England; Its History, Principles and Results.*

Neal: *History of the Puritans.*

Campbell: *The Puritan in Holland, England and America.* 2 vols. Puts great emphasis on the contribution of Holland to growth of America. Has been vigorously opposed, as, for example, by **Doyle** in *Political Science Quarterly.*

The spiritual condition of England, in its great leading features, was much the same as it had been on the Continent. There was the same suffering and discontent among the people, and there were numerous expressions of dissatisfaction.

The Reformation in England began early, passed through several distinct stages, and at last differed in several important particulars from the Reformation on the Continent. In Germany and Switzerland rival systems were set up in more or less complete opposition to the hierarchy. In England the movement was less radical. The work was undertaken by sovereigns and clergy, and the historical connection with Rome was not so completely broken.

We have seen the Wiclif movement, which arose in the fourteenth century. Wiclif had important fore-

runners. His influence continued in his translation of the Bible, which had been almost entirely committed to memory by many of the people; and in the Lollards, whose conventicles had perpetuated his ideas right up to the time of the great revolt.

The Oxford Reformers

LITERATURE

Seebohm: *The Oxford Reformers—Colet, Erasmus, and More.*

The next stage is led by a group of great men who are known as the Oxford Reformers—Colet and More the Englishmen, and Erasmus the cosmopolitan.

The fame of Italian humanism had reached England, and Oxford students were finding their way to Italy, and especially to Florence, in the time of Lorenzo de Medici. Among these were Grocyn and Linacre. The new enthusiasm aroused within them was carried to England. The result was to revive the study of the Greek language at Oxford, and to spread the new learning in England.

But of deeper spiritual significance was John Colet's visit to Italy. This visit was after Lorenzo's death, when Alexander VI. was at the height of his infamy, and Savonarola was the ruling force in the Florentine Republic. Whether Colet was at Florence is uncertain, but that he stood in full view of all that was going on is beyond question. He not only appreciated the revival of learning, and utilized it to the full, but he was impressed as never before with the need of religious reform.

He returned to Oxford. In 1496 he announced a course of lectures on the Epistles of Paul. He was saturated with the new learning, and the new criticism,

and in these lectures he sought in a direct and common-sense way to find out just what Paul meant. The burdens of scholasticism, with their intricacies and vagaries, had become so great that the mastery of them left no time or strength for the study of the Bible. All these hindrances were brushed away, and Colet's advice to his students was to "keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, letting divines, if they like, dispute about the rest."

Colet saw that it "was ecclesiastical scandals and the wicked worldly living of the clergy, the way they mixed themselves up with politics, and strove after power and money and pleasure, which set men against the church." He was thus led to become a practical reformer.

Erasmus, already famous for his learning, came to Oxford in 1498. He was welcomed by the little band of scholars. He said that he had come to learn. At first he defended the scholastics, but he was soon convinced by Colet, who exercised a moulding influence upon him.

The Tudors

LITERATURE

Child: *Church and State under the Tudors.*

The three great Oxford Reformers lived on into the reign of Henry VIII., and much of their maturest work was done in that reign. Colet's celebrated school of St. Paul's was founded in 1510, Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* appeared in 1516, and More's *Eutopia* was published in 1515.

But the time had come when for weal and for woe the cause of the Reformation was to be directed by kings and queens.

a. Henry VIII. (1509-1547)

The Tudors came in with Henry VII. (1485-1509), in whom the houses of Lancaster and York were united. In him we have the beginning of the almost absolute power that characterized the Tudors. He was succeeded in 1509 by his son Henry. The earlier part of Henry VIII.'s reign gave high hopes, and he won great popularity with the people, which he maintained until his death. But he was cruel in disposition and variable in temperament. In the latter part of his reign these qualities controlled him, and he became a remorseless and wicked tyrant, and a murderer of large dimensions. Henry's early relations with the pope were harmonious. The Lutheran doctrines found their way into England, and in 1521 he sent his famous "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments," which was a refutation of "Martin Luther the Heresiarch," to Rome. With "infinite thankfulness" the pope conferred upon Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith."

But these pleasant relations were to continue only until the pope should oppose the king's desires. Such a difference arose in 1527, when Henry took his first steps to secure a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. On the part of the pope, Paul III., a bull of excommunication and deposition against the king was published in 1538. This bull availed nothing but the ruin of Pole's house when he attempted to carry it out. On Henry's part we have the great Reformation Parliament, which lasted from 1529 to 1536. The principal acts of this parliament are: A general curtailment of ecclesiastical courts; prohibition of the payment of *Annates;* prohibition of appeals to Rome; the denial of the pope's authority in the appointment

of bishops; the crowning act in 1534, known as the Act of Supremacy, which made the king the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England; the act defining treason, which should consist in questioning the Act of Supremacy.

Another enactment of this parliament in the last year of its session was the act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries. It was carried into effect with great shamelessness. Three years later the larger ones suffered a like fate. Thus there was a transfer of their enormous wealth into the king's treasury, to religious uses, and to Henry's ministers and friends. Of course those who profited by this spoliation became staunch advocates of the Reformation. We are told that many of the great English families date their worldly prosperity from this time. The monasteries had no doubt departed to a large extent from their original vows, but that they were in a large measure the victims of slanderous reports seems certain.

That the enactments of Henry's parliament should go into effect without serious opposition was not to be expected. Among those who suffered under the Act of Supremacy, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher should be especially mentioned.

But the most serious opposition was the movement known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, led by Robert Aske of Yorkshire. Here demands were expressed in twenty-four articles. Among these were: "The suppression of the heresies of Wiclif, Hus, Luther, Melanchthon, and the destruction of the works of Tyndale and others"; the repeal of the Act of Supremacy; the restoration of the suppressed monasteries; that Cromwell and the Lord Chancellor should suffer "as perverters of the good laws of this realm

and maintainers of the false acts of these heretics." The uprising had to be put down with great severity.

With the establishment of the Act of Supremacy the dominion of the papacy in England was destroyed, and with this destruction came numerous expressions of the spirit of revolt that had been smoldering for many years. These expressions are found in the list of sixty-seven articles—embodying the ideas of Wiclif as they had survived in Lollardism, and even the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli. "They contain," says **Fuller**, "the Protestant religion in ore, happily since refined."

To meet this rising and threatening wave of reformatory spirit the moderately reactionary Ten Articles were formulated in 1536. In brief, these articles teach: That the words of the canonical Scriptures, and the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian creeds are infallible; that the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper are necessary to salvation; that Justification is the remission of our sins, and our acceptance as reconciliation unto the grace and favor of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ; images may be used as "kindlers of men's minds to remember and lament their sins"; saints should receive honor "as the elect of Christ, and as advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ; saints in heaven praying for us and with us to Almighty God may be supplicated by us; while Rites and Ceremonies have no power to remit sins "they are good and laudable to put us in remembrance of those things that they do signify"; and finally it is a good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed, "but, the place where they be, and the name thereof, and the kind of pains there, be to us uncertain by Scripture." The Ten Articles

have been properly regarded as the precursors of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.

Immediately succeeding the publication of the articles, Henry's Vicar-General, Cromwell, issued a series of important injunctions to the effect that: "Every parson or proprietary of a church shall provide a Bible in Latin and English to be laid in the choir for every one to read at their pleasure." The approved version was that of Miles Coverdale, which had appeared in 1535. Parents were also encouraged to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments in English.

The Ten Articles were followed in 1537 by *The Institution of a Christian Man*, or as it was commonly called, *The Bishop's Book*. It was fuller than the articles, containing an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. The articles had recognized but three of the sacraments, but the Bishop's Book returned to the seven.

In 1539 the Statute of the Six Articles defining heresy was issued. Heresy consisted in the denial of: Transubstantiation; communion in one kind for laymen; celibacy of the priesthood; inviolability of vows of chastity; necessity of private masses; necessity of auricular confession. It was an act for "abolishing diversity of opinion in certain articles concerning the Christian religion." The consequence was a revival of persecution. "In London alone five hundred Protestants were indicted under the new act." Many reformers felt obliged to leave the country. They went chiefly to Germany and Switzerland.

In 1543 appeared *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of Any Christian Man*, or, as it was popularly called, *The King's Book*. This book is decidedly reactionary.

We have already noted the king's effort to set forth and publish the Scriptures, but now all this is changed. Henry has reached the conclusion that the entire Bible is convenient and necessary for the instruction of those whose office it is to teach others, "but for the other part of the church, ordained to be taught, it ought to be deemed certainly that the reading of the Old and New Testaments is not so necessary for all those folks that of duty they ought and be bound to read it, but as the prince and policy of the realm shall think convenient, so to be tolerated or taken from it, consonant whereunto the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from a great many, esteeming it sufficient for those so restrained to hear and truly bear away the doctrine of Scripture taught by the preachers."

At first sight it would not seem that there was any real reformation in the time of Henry VIII. The church only exchanged an ecclesiastical for a secular pope—a pope who for injustice and cruelty could hardly have been surpassed. But yet there are certain features of the reign that look toward reformation. Among these are: The almost complete break of the church in England with the Roman Church; the smoldering thoughts of men found crude expression, and having been once expressed they will never again be suppressed; and it was, moreover, probably best for society and religion that the monasteries be broken up, and this can be said without wholly justifying either the motives that led to the act, or the manner in which it was done. Bishop Stubbs in his *Constitutional History* very truly says that "the world owes some of its greatest debts to men from whose memory it recoils." Henry's great ministers, who aided him with their counsel, and experienced his ingratitude with more or

less justice to themselves, were Wolsey, Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell.

b. Edward VI. (*1547-1553*)

Edward was but ten years of age when he came to the throne. The government was assumed by the Earl of Hertford, the king's uncle.

The rising commercial spirit of the age led the proprietors of the lands to seek new and more lucrative ways of managing their estates. This led to the pasturing rather than the farming of the lands, and thus many agricultural laborers were thrown out of employment and were faced by starvation. The general condition is well seen in a passage from one of Latimer's sermons. His father was a yeoman with no lands of his own, but he had a farm for which he paid three or four pounds rent per year. He kept half a dozen men, he had pasture for a hundred sheep, his mother milked thirty kine. "He was able and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse. . . . He kept me to school, or else I should not be able to have preached before the king's majesty now . . . he kept hospitality for poor neighbors, and some alms he gave to the poor. . . . Where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds a year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself or for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor." As a result of this condition there were uprisings in 1549, which were harshly put down.

Edward was genuinely in favor of reformation. The reformatory spirit in the Council of Regency had a decided majority. Edward began by releasing prisoners, and allowing exiles to return home. Among these should be especially mentioned Miles Coverdale

and John Hooper. A book of homilies was prepared and a visitation of the clergy was made. Injunctions as to public worship were sent out, showing among other things the uselessness of image worship, and the abuse of pilgrimages. Images were destroyed and the painted walls of the churches were whitewashed. Parliament repealed the Six Articles; decreed that the Lord's Supper should be administered in both kinds; and appointed a commission to reform the services. This commission brought out the First Book of Common Prayer in 1548. It was taken largely from the books then used, but it contained several important changes, among which are: One book instead of several; two daily services instead of the seven hours' service; considerable additions of Scripture; in the removal of much rubbish that had come down from earlier times; "in the omission of various offices for the souls of the departed, and numerous prayers which implied a belief in purgatory." It was mainly the work of Cranmer.*

That this Prayer Book would please either Protestants or Romanists was not to be expected. Yet parliament in 1549 enacted that it should come under the first Act of Uniformity, and punishments, even death, ensued.

Yet, notwithstanding the act, John Hooper steadily opposed the Prayer Book. He wrote Bullinger saying: "I am so much offended with the book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the Lord's Supper." He declared that the kingdom of God is a spiritual kingdom, and denied the pope dominion over it; he

*See **Beckett**: *Eng. Ref.*, pp. 200-201.

refused to wear vestments, and refused to recognize any merit in altars and crosses; and on account of his great influence he led the movement which resulted in the Second Prayer Book in 1552. This book was a very complete triumph for Protestantism. It embodied substantially the doctrines of the Swiss reformation. Hooper had resided for perhaps eight years in company with Calvin, Bullinger, and other leaders in Switzerland. Moreover, Peter Martyr had been made professor of divinity at Oxford, Bucer had a similar position at Cambridge; numerous continental churches existed in London, and Hooper had been powerfully impressed by the simplicity of their services; it was also said that Calvin "continued still to intermeddle and solicit for his own fancy." All these influences went into the new Prayer Book, which is remarkable for its additions, omissions and substitutions. "In the Communion service the Ten Commandments were added, and the commemorative character of the service emphasized in the words of administration, 'Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and be thankful.' " The words "commonly called the mass" are omitted. In several cases the words "priest" and "altar" give place to the words "minister" and "table" or "board."

The second Act of Uniformity was passed by parliament on April 6, 1552. As the old book had many champions, its merits were recognized as follows: "It is a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive church, very comfortable to all good people desirous to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the state of this realm." The new book is justified as coming to settle divers doubts as to the ministration of the service, "therefore for the more

plain and manifest explanation hereof as for the more perfection of the said order of common service."

All Saints Day, November 1, 1552, was the time set for the new book to go into use. Bishop Ridley of St. Paul's began to use it as ordered, and the prominent churches followed.

The Council of Trent was in session at this time, and the doctrines of reformed Romanism were being formulated in the Canons of Trent. It was a matter of importance that Protestantism should have a statement that could stand against these canons. In a letter to Bullinger Cranmer expresses his ardent desire: "That in England or elsewhere there might be convoked a synod of the most learned and excellent persons, in which provision might be made for the purity of ecclesiastical doctrines, and especially for an agreement on the sacramentarian controversy." Calvin said he "would willingly cross ten seas" to attend such a conference. But for various reasons such a council was not possible. But Cranmer sought nevertheless to carry out his purpose, which was the formulation of a statement "which should cover all the main points on which differences of opinion might arise." There were eminent foreign divines in England, such as Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, and there can be no doubt but that their advice and criticisms were utilized. The Thirteen Articles based on the Augsburg Confession, which twenty years before Cranmer had sought to have enacted, and which but for the jealousy of Henry VIII. might have been adopted, furnished the main points for the new statement. The result of it all was the famous Forty-Two Articles. The king approved the Articles, and it seems probable that the Convocation which met in 1553 sanctioned them.

But this reign of such marked activity was destined to be short. Within a few months after the appearance of the Second Prayer Book, and of the Forty-Two Articles, just at a time when all things were in a fluid condition, Edward VI. succumbed to consumption, and "the greatest moan was made for him as ever was heard or seen." England is now to experience violent religious reaction.

c. Mary (*1553-1558*)

Mary had one central purpose. It was to restore Romanism in England. She resolutely set about the accomplishment of this purpose. She met with strong opposition, but she was able to undo temporarily much of what had been accomplished in the preceding reign. About three hundred persons are said to have been burnt during her reign. Among her distinguished victims were Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Cranmer. Fortunately she lived but five years, and Protestantism could once more assert itself.

d. Elizabeth (*1558-1603*)

The reign of Elizabeth is one of the greatest periods in English history. This is true from all points of view. The queen was probably a Protestant in her sympathies—but in steering the English state through stormy and treacherous seas it was often difficult to tell which side she was on. She many times seemed, and no doubt often was, inconsistent—even contradictory in her positions. While Elizabeth was open to criticism throughout her long and brilliant reign, it should be remembered that she was always confronted with urgent and complicated problems which were impossible of perfect solution.

Among the important events of Elizabeth's reign we should note:

1. The repeal of the Romanist legislation of Mary.

2. An act restoring the royal supremacy over the church.

The queen's conciliatory spirit is seen in the fact that she dropped the title "Supreme Head of the Church," and used the more general expression, "The only supreme governor of the realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal" (1559). This act forbade all foreign jurisdiction in spiritual and temporal affairs, and bound all clergymen and officeholders under the crown.

3. The restoration of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. with considerable alterations.

4. An Act of Uniformity, 1559, binding all clergymen to use this Prayer Book under graduated penalties. All persons were required to attend church under penalty of censure and fine, except for "lawful or reasonable excuse."

5. A revision of the Forty-Two Articles of Edward VI., reducing them to Thirty-Nine Articles (1563). As indicated by the dates, the queen proceeded more slowly in the case of the Forty-Two Articles than in that of the Prayer Book. She was anxious in the Confession to conciliate at least the more moderate wing of the Romanists. She accordingly advanced with extreme caution. The articles were carefully reviewed. It was discovered that originally they were based on the Confession of Augsburg, and the new matter now introduced was taken largely from the Lutheran Confession of Wurtemburg. Other changes were introduced to meet developments that had sprung up since the original articles were drafted.

"The effect of this searching criticism of Parker and his colleagues was, first, to add four articles; secondly, to take away an equal number; thirdly, to modify by partial amplification or curtailment as many as seventeen of the remainder."*

The Thirty-Nine Articles contain many Protestant dogmas, but they also retain much of the Roman cult.

6. The rise of nonconformity.

LITERATURE

St. John: *The Struggle for Liberty of Conscience in England.* A new and important contribution.

Houlder: *A Short History of the Free Churches.* A recent and exceedingly valuable review.

In every social revolution there will surely arise at least two parties. The difference between the parties will be as to the extent to which the revolution ought to go. One party will on the whole be conservative, retaining very much of what is old, the other party will incline to be radical, reducing the old at least to a minimum, and going oftentimes to the extent of eliminating it entirely. Since the time of Edward VI. these two parties have been well defined in England. It was no longer a question as to whether there should be Protestantism, but as to how much Protestantism. The first of these parties is Anglican. As we have seen, the Thirty-Nine Articles retained a modified hierarchy, and in many other respects had a strong flavor of Romanism. The second of these parties came to have the name of Puritan. The extreme wing of Puritanism wished to destroy every vestige of

*See **Hardwick** as quoted by **Perry**, p. 194.

Romanism, and reduce the service to the simplicity of the Swiss reformers. Elizabeth had no sympathy with Puritanism, and thought of it as exceedingly dangerous. As a result of their views many of the Puritans felt obliged to leave the Church of England, and so became nonconformists. They were punished as lawbreakers.

Puritanism was strongly supported in the House of Commons, and its opposition to Anglicanism was very effective. Elizabeth, in order to meet this opposition, through the assistance of Whitgift, in 1583, established the Court of High Commission. It consisted of forty-four members, twelve of whom were bishops and three of whom formed a quorum. Its definite purpose was to inquire into the religious opinions of people; "to administer the oaths of Supremacy and Uniformity, and punish all refusals to take them; and to force under penalties the adhesion of the clergy to a series of propositions founded on the canon law, and hitherto unknown to the constitution of England." This court and that of the Star Chamber, which had existed as a judicial form of the Privy Council since Henry VII., became powerful instruments of tyranny. But the English love of freedom had its roots far back in history, and the Puritans steadily grew in strength. We have already seen that Hooper exerted a wide influence in the reign of Edward VI., and that his opposition to vestments and other Romish practices was very energetic. He may properly be regarded as a forerunner of Puritanism.

But the wide differences of opinion as to church polity expressed themselves formally as always through great men. Bancroft, probably, first attempted to show that the episcopacy was of divine origin.

Hooper had claimed that the church had the right to formulate its own polity. Cartwright held that, according to the Scriptures, the form of polity should be Presbyterian.

But they all had this in common: they held to some kind of organic union of church and state.

There arose now, however, a new form of Puritanism, which became known as Independency, or Separatism, because it advocated separation from the state church. The Independents were led by Robert Browne, and for this reason they were also called Brownists.

But nonconformity thus started advanced still farther. John Robinson maintained that authority should be confined within the individual congregation. Naturally then, when the persecutions began, Robinson and his followers were the first to suffer, and this persecution led to their emigration to Holland. They reached Amsterdam in 1608, five years after the death of Elizabeth. Robinson was one of the great and large minded men of his age. His exhortation to the Pilgrims later on is an imperishable monument to his name. He said: "I charge you before God and his blessed angels that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am persuaded that the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth from his Holy Word. For my part I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of these reformed churches, which are come to a period and will go no further than the instrument of their reformation."

7. The persecution of the Romanists. We have seen that Elizabeth sought to conciliate the Romanists;

but when it was discovered that they would not be conciliated, and that they constantly plotted against her, and when finally, in 1570, she was excommunicated, it became evident to her that they must be held down with a strong hand. The Romanists were more difficult to control than the Puritans, because the latter, although firm and persistent in their convictions, were loyal at heart, and so in the main could be depended upon in secular matters. According to Romanist writers, about two hundred and sixty persons perished during the reign, almost as many as during Mary's reign. It must not be forgotten, however, that Mary reigned but five years while Elizabeth reigned forty-five years. Moreover, Mary's victims were martyrs to freedom, whereas most of Elizabeth's were in the view of the laws of the realm guilty of treason.

Other important events in this great reign were: The alliance of Elizabeth with the Netherlands in 1577, in which her vacillating policy is seen; the destruction of the Spanish Armada; the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1586.

As the English Reformation came near to its close it became necessary for the Anglicans to defend their cause in the face of the Romanist attacks, in which they repeated with irritating insistency the question: "Where was your church before the days of Martin Luther?" The question was ably answered by Bishop Jewell, Richard Hooker, and Dean Field.*

The appearance of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* may be regarded as a great event in the struggle for liberty of conscience. Hooker firmly believed in the divine institution of episcopacy, but, with a largeness

*See **Perry**, pp. 199-213.

of view and a genuineness of sympathy for those who held a different view, he proceeded to a profound discussion of the origin of authority and the nature of law. It is near the end of the first book that he writes these famous and immortal words: "Of Law nothing less can be said than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world." Men like Hooker belong to all ages and all parties.

The Tudors were virtually dictators. The constitution was practically set aside. But, with the single exception of Mary, the policy of each sovereign in the long run, although without their intention, made for freedom. In the contest between the Anglicans and Puritans the crown and the lords were mainly on the side of the Anglicans, while the commons were mainly on the side of the Puritans. Through the Puritans the ancient rights of the English people were once more revived and, although severe conflicts are still in store, the tendency towards democracy is unmistakable and irresistible. In the struggles of the sixteenth century the sturdy and fundamental English society was thoroughly permeated with the ideas of Luther and Melanchthon, Zwingli and Bullinger, Calvin and Beza, and they can never be eradicated.

The age of Elizabeth is also one of the most remarkable periods of literary activity in all history.

E. OTHER COUNTRIES

From Germany the Reformation spread north to Prussia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland and Iceland; east and south to Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary.

From Switzerland the Reformation spread to France, Scotland, and Holland.

The influence of both Germany and Switzerland on the course of the English Reformation was great and abiding. It is nevertheless true, as we have seen, that in England the movement took an independent course.

Let us notice further:

The French Reformation

LITERATURE

Baird: *The Rise of the Huguenots*, 2 vols. *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, 2 vols. *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 2 vols.

Browning: *A History of the Huguenots.* 2 vols.

Blair: *Henry of Navarre and the Religious Wars.*

Willert: *Henry of Navarre.*

Bower: *The Fourteen of Meaux.*

We have seen that reformatory ideas were early developed in France. She gave the great leaders—Farel and Calvin—to Geneva, and then in turn received from them most of the impulses which were to help her on in her own attempts at reform. The conditions for reformation were unfavorable in France. The crusade against the Albigenses had permanently weakened the cause in the south. The people were vacillating. The kings from Francis I. to Henry IV. were unreliable. The worst features of Italian political doctrines had come in through Machiavelli's "Prince," and Catherine de Medici's personality. Romanism was strongly entrenched in the universities; and even the Protestant leaders, with the distinguished exception of Coligny, were lacking in many of the qualities necessary to carry a great movement through to a successful issue.

The result was that while the French Reformation brought the Huguenots into an organization, and is

full of thrilling interest, it did not, as in Germany, Switzerland, and England, reach a perfect consummation. Being thus hampered by an untoward environment, it was extremely tragical almost from the beginning to the end.

As the reformers were unable to make decisive strokes, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew became a dreadful fact, and in several civil wars the country was laid waste and deluged with blood.

The issue of the struggle was the establishment of Henry IV. of Navarre on the throne of France—after he was "converted" to Romanism—and consequently the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. By this edict the Protestants were granted the religious freedom for which they had contended.

But, after all, the result was indecisive. Protestantism could not have a vigorous and healthy growth. The Huguenots became a political party, which as a party was afterwards to be crushed under the masterful influence of Cardinal Richelieu in his efforts to unify France and make her the leading power in Europe.*

The Scotch Reformation

LITERATURE

Hetherington: *History of the Church in Scotland.* 2 vols.
McIntosh: *History of Civilization in Scotland.* 4 vols.
McIntosh: *The Story of Scotland.*
Rankin: *Handbook of the Church of Scotland.*
Kinloch: *Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical History.*

There had been some religious dissent in Scotland before the Lutheran movement in Germany. The teachings of Wiclif and Hus had furnished their vic-

*See **Perkins**: *Richelieu.* Late and excellent.

tims in the fifteenth century, in the persons of James Resby, who was burned at Perth in 1408 for holding Wiclifite views; and Paul Crawar, a Husite, burned at St. Andrews in 1433. But dissent really became significant when Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528) became a student at the University of Paris and was converted to Lutheranism. He returned to Scotland to proclaim his new views—was opposed, went to Germany, met Luther and Melanchthon, and with new zeal returned to his martyrdom at St. Andrews in 1528.

The next promoter of reform in Scotland was George Wishart (1513-1546). He, too, paid the penalty of his zeal for freedom at St. Andrews in 1546.

Thus the way was prepared for the great leader and central figure of the Scotch Reformation—John Knox (1505-1572). Largely through his influence in 1557 what is known as the *First Covenant* was taken by a large number of the gentry and nobility. The covenant was a pledge among those who took it to do all in their power to advance The Reformation. In 1558 Knox became their recognized leader. The result was the banishment of Romanism and the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland.*

The Dutch Reformation

LITERATURE

Brandt: *History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries.* 4 vols.

Motley: *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.* 3 vols. *History of the United Netherlands.* 4 vols. *The Life and Death of John of Barneveldt.* 2 vols.

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*See **Brown**: *John Knox.* 2 vols. **Innes**: *John Knox.*

Blok: *History of the People of the Netherlands.* 3 vols. in Eng. to date Jan. 1901.

Martyn: *The Dutch Reformation: A History of the Struggle in the Netherlands for Civil and Religious Liberty.*

Rogers: *Holland.*

Hansen: *The Reformed Church in the Netherlands.*

Putnam: *William the Silent.* 2 vols.

In the Netherlands the conditions were quite the opposite of those in France. From the earliest days the people of the Low Countries had been liberty-loving, steadfast, industrious, frugal, and intellectual. This is seen in the Great Privilege, which expressed in early form the principles and the spirit that were to lead the Dutch in their future history. The doctrines of Luther and Calvin were, accordingly, received into congenial soil and climate, and they grew rapidly almost from the beginning.

We can easily understand, therefore, that when the cruelty and tyranny of Philip II. began to be exercised upon these people, who had inherited great character and great traditions, he would meet with the most determined resistance.

In the tremendous struggle through which the Dutch had to pass, their remarkable qualities were developed in a process that makes their history one of the most thrilling stories in all literature. The most conspicuous figure of the earlier movement was William of Orange.

The issue was entirely successful in Holland, both politically and religiously. The form of the faith that finally prevailed in Holland was Calvinism in its extremest type. The rigorous application of these doctrines led to dissatisfaction, and finally to a revolt. This revolt was headed by James Arminius (1560-1609), a professor of theology at the University of Leyden.

The controversy was a very bitter one, and led to the Synod of Dort in 1618, in which Calvinism triumphed. One of the sad and inexcusable acts of this synod was the condemnation and execution of John of Barneveldt. Hugo Grotius, the great theologian and jurist, was also condemned and imprisoned.

The Arminian revolt is of so much importance in subsequent theological thinking, and is having so wide an influence in our own times that it deserves especial mention here.

Arminius was a man of great natural ability. He had studied at Geneva. He had come under the influence of the writings of Peter Ramus, who was a contemporary of Calvin, and who was in open revolt against the whole Aristotelian system of education. Ramus successfully defended for his thesis before the University of Paris the proposition that, "All Aristotle's writings are false." After his general preparation Arminius became pastor of the church at Amsterdam. Objections to the catechism had arisen from time to time. Arminius was asked by the consistory to refute these objections. But greatly to his surprise he found that his own views coincided with these objections. In 1603 he was appointed to the chair of theology at Leyden, made vacant by the death of Junius. This appointment was vigorously opposed by Gomarus, who was to be his colleague and strenuous opponent.

The divergent views of Arminius were soon the subject of general discussion, and at last, on February 7, 1604, the issue was squarely joined. The gauntlet was thrown down when Arminius lectured to the students on predestination. The followers of Arminius were called Remonstrants, and the followers of Gomarus

were called Contra-Remonstrants. In a work of this kind it is impossible to go even into the general features of this most interesting discussion. We must accordingly content ourselves by giving the summary statements of each side—the famous Five Points.

The Five Points of Dutch Calvinism are:

1st. Predestination of some to life eternal, and of others to damnation, and this "without respect to God's foresight of men's faith and good works, or any conditions."

2d. "Particular redemption; that is, a belief that Christ died for the benefit of the elect alone."

3d. Original sin as involving the total corruption of human nature.

4th. Irresistible grace; that is, that divine grace overpowers all free-will in the case of the elect.

5th. "The final perseverance of all the elect; they may fall partially or for a time, but not finally."

The Five Points of Arminianism as summarized by Brandt are as follows:

1st. "God from eternity determined to choose unto everlasting life all those who, through his grace in Jesus Christ, believe and unto the end persist in faith, and in the obedience of it; on the contrary, he hath determined to reject unto their everlasting damnation the impenitent and unbelievers."

2d. "Christ has died for all, so that he procured by means of his death reconciliation and pardon for all; still in such a manner that none except believers are actually in the enjoyment thereof."

3d. "Man has not this saving faith in himself, nor from the power of his own free-will, but he needs thereunto the grace of God in Christ."

4th. "This grace is the beginning, continuance, and

completion, of man's salvation, so that no one can believe, or continue to believe, without this co-operative grace; hence, all good works must be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ; but as regards the operation of this grace it is not irresistible."

5th. "True believers have through divine grace sufficient power to fight against sin and gain the victory. But whether through carelessness they might not depart from the holy doctrine, lose a good conscience, and neglect grace, should be clearly ascertained from Holy Scripture before it could be assuredly taught." A later statement of this article was to the effect that those who had once truly believed might, through their own fault, be lost.*

Evidently a mile-stone has been reached. The student of history from the time of Augustine and Pelagius to Calvin and Arminius has seen the lines steadily converging to this point. The two sides represent great and fundamental truths, and the world waits still for the dogmatic theologian who can harmonize these truths, which seem to clash so violently the moment the attempt is made to confine them in propositions.

F. SEPARATE REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS

The truth is always far greater than any man's conception of the truth. It is greater even than the conception of any school or party. But this simple and evident fact has always been extremely difficult for men to learn. A great man and his followers are prone to think that the truth is all with them, while the error is all with their opponents. These facts

*See **Arminius**: *Works*. 3 vols., Nichols ed.

make it clear why at times of special historical activity there are always numerous and wide divergencies of opinion. Each point of view emphasizes a phase of truth and makes it the center from which all truth must be controlled, and is intolerant towards other points of view which make the same claims. Thus it is that conflicts arise and violence is done to truth itself.

Now, there are few historians to-day who would claim that Luther or Zwingli or Calvin had all the truth. Indeed, most historians would readily admit that each of them had much of error. The inadequacy of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone is generally felt. Calvin's doctrine of predestination was pushed to excess, and in many other respects the doctrine of these men is open to serious objections.

But nothing is more certain than that differences are never settled until they are settled right. That there should, therefore, be revolt from the positions of all these men was not only to be expected, but it was demanded in the interests of truth and the common weal. It is not, accordingly, the true spirit of history to speak of these people and their work in the lump as "sects and heresies accompanying the new movement," or to treat them with the contempt that they have too often received at the hands of historians. For, if by heresy we mean departure from the truth, all the great leaders of the Reformation were heretics, because all of them departed from the truth in many important particulars.

But it is to be admitted that many of these so-called sects were very extreme—fanatical and revolutionary both in their principles and their actions. They did not see clearly that the true reformer must be able to

conceive and hold constantly before him the perfect ideal, but that he must at the same time have the patience and the persistency to bring the world as near to the realization of the ideal as it will come, and then wait for results. This must be the policy until an enlightened conscience is violated. Then the only alternative is conflict at all risks.

Now it was natural that when Luther and Zwingli began to see whither their principles were leading them they should tend to become more conservative. But it was just as natural that the radicals should reproach them for stopping far short of a true reformation.

The historian will be more and more disposed to admit that there was error on all sides in this great period, but he will just as candidly admit that there was much of truth on all sides, even among the radicals.

The Anabaptists

LITERATURE

Newman: *History of Anti-Pedobaptism.* Full bibliography.

Burrage: *History of the Anabaptists of Switzerland. Baptist Hymn Writers and Their Hymns.*

Keller: *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer und ihres Reichs zu Münster.*

Rembert: *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogthum Jülich.*

Far the most important of these special movements was that which goes under the name of Anabaptist—a name which was always rejected. They probably perpetuated ideas that had come down from the Middle Ages, but they were immensely quickened and

incited to action by the general movement towards reform. The student is impressed with the absence of anything that resembled a compact system of doctrines.

Among the things which they held in common were: The rejection of infant baptism; and the absolute separation of church and state. In these ideas they anticipated some of the positions of several of the great modern denominations of Christians—as Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers.

Many of them went to great extremes, while many others demanded nothing more than liberty of conscience, which was not granted them. They were widely extended in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and even in England. They were looked upon as revolutionists, and consequently as a menace to the progress of the Reformation. The Reformers, therefore, hated them at least as bitterly as they hated the Romanists. They were accordingly persecuted without compunction. In 1529, at Spires, the Diet instructed Protestants and Romanists alike to put them to death. Among the noble men who perished are: Felix Mantz, at Zurich, 1527; Hübmaier, at Vienna, 1528; Blaurock, in the Tyrol, 1529.

While many of the leaders of the Anabaptists, such as Mantz and Hübmaier, were men of education, the greater part were without education, but none the less quiet and genuinely pious

The Schwenckfeldians

This sect was founded by Kaspar Schwenckfeld (1489-1561). He was born in a noble family at Ossig, in Silesia. He early accepted Luther's teachings and introduced them into Silesia. But as time went on it

appeared to him that the Lutheran doctrines were not bearing adequate fruits in the lives of the people. He was accordingly led to inquire into the causes of this barrenness. It soon became clear to him that there were several defects in the gospel as Luther preached it. In the first place it was too external and objective. In the second place his interpretation of Scripture was too literal, and consequently unspiritual. In the third place his doctrine of justification by faith alone was inadequate, even dangerous. What was needed was that the life of God in the believer should be made basal. He was thus led to the idea of the indwelling Christ, and the "inner light that comes from that divine indwelling."

Schwenckfeld also found himself at variance with Luther on the nature of Christ's presence in the Supper. He advocated a spiritual presence not unlike that advocated by Calvin later on. This difference with Luther could not be looked on with allowance. Schwenckfeld accordingly left Silesia in 1529 and went to Strasburg. But he had no permanent abiding place during his remaining years. He was the object of much of the coarse abuse of which the great reformer was unfortunately so great a master. Even the gentle Melanchthon, when near the end of his life, sought to suppress his teachings.

But it should be remembered that Schwenckfeld was not opposed to external forms or to church organization. His great thought was rather that all these are but means, and that they are worthless unless they are used for the development of the inner life that is hid with Christ in God. His life was the best exemplification of his teachings.

The Socinians

LITERATURE

Fock: *Der Socinianismus.*

Distinguished Unitarian Clergymen: *Discourses on the Origin and History of Unitarianism.*

Turner: *Lives of Eminent Unitarians.*

If certain divisions of the Anabaptists were socialistic, and if the Schwenckfeldians were mystical, it was reserved for the Socinians to develop to the fullest extent the rationalistic side of the Reformation.

Some of the Anabaptists were inclined to rationalism, as for instance John Denck. Indeed, it came about that the doctrines of Sabellius, Arius and Photinus all had representatives. But the anti-trinitarian movement was led by three principal men—Michael Servetus, Laelius and Faustus Socinus. It was from the latter that the name Socinianism was given to the movement.

a. Michael Servetus (1509-1553)

Servetus co-operated with the reformers, but became seriously troubled about the doctrine of the Trinity as ordinarily stated. In 1531 he published his book *On the Errors of the Trinity.* His teachings were widely diffused. He was engaged in many debates, and greatly aroused and annoyed Calvin. He was at last burned at Geneva in 1553.

b. Laelius Socinus (1525-1562)

But for the real leaders of the movement we must turn to Italy. The deepest cause was the critical spirit of the Renaissance which on its theological side led straight to rationalism. Laelius Socinus was born at Siena. He visited many cities, but was cautious about giving direct expression to his views.

c. Faustus Socinus (1539-1604)

Faustus was also born at Siena. He was the nephew of Laelius, and the real founder of Unitarianism. He was first a student of law, and then of theology. The writings of his uncle came to him by inheritance. They quickened and gave direction to his thought. He resided for a long time at Florence, then three years at Basel, and finally spent the remainder of his life at Padua.

The Socinians held to the absolute authority of the Old and New Testaments. The being and holiness of God was their fundamental doctrine. They denied the pre-existence of Christ, and so His divinity. He was a man, but not a mere man; for He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and so is the Son of God. Before He entered upon His career He was elevated into the presence of God, and there invested with authority, and "as the high reward of obedience which He showed in His capacity of Pattern-man, of Teacher, and of Legislator, He was finally admitted to a share in the Divine Sovereignty and made in one sense equal with the Father." Christ may therefore have secondary adoration, provided it does not trench on the worship of God Himself.*

The doctrines of Socinianism are embodied in the Racovian Catechism, begun by Socinus and completed the year after his death.

G. THE THEOLOGY OF THE REFORMATION

If we look for the predisposing causes of this great convulsion we shall find them to be social, political and religious. The movement was general, and it can only be understood when it is studied in all its rela-

*See **Hardwick**, p. 265.

tions. Old ideas and institutions must now give place to ideas and institutions representing an advanced stage of society. The supreme test of an institution is found in what it is doing for man. It is not in practice to be expected that any human institution will be perfect. But when we have allowed for individual defects and shortcomings we ask: Is the institution still an essential factor in human weal? or, Are its defects so essential as to block all progress and so to menace the very existence of society? Tried by this test all the institutions of the fifteenth century were found wanting—the institutions of the church most of all. The corruption of the best is the worst.

The situation accordingly was such that there could be no compromise. The changes that were demanded in the religious life must be radical. But just how was this the case? The answer from the new point of view is that the deepest longing of a man who is conscious of his sins is that he wants immediate access to God, who alone can forgive his sins. This access must be through Christ the God-man and through no other channel.

Now, as we have seen, through the preceding centuries, and since the time of our Lord and His apostles, there had grown up an elaborate hierarchy with a graduated priesthood, and an exceedingly complicated system of ceremonies. The teaching that generally prevailed was that it was only through this intricate machinery that man could at last reach God. . The entire system had become grossly external and immoral. The priest granted or refused absolution according to his own arbitrary will. And so it often happened that absolution was granted where it was undeserved, and refused where it was deserved.

Along with this unnatural and unchristian state of things came the most cruel tyranny and persecution and the most shocking immorality extending from the papal see down to the lowest priest. The system had failed precisely at the point where an acceptable system must succeed—in its influence on the life and happiness of society. But the Reformation swept away all this perverted growth of the centuries, and taught *the priesthood of all believers.*

The reformers went back to original sources, and this brought the Bible to the forefront. In the Bible God spake to every individual immediately, as in the primitive times He had spoken through the prophets and apostles. As in the olden times He had spoken through His prophets, so in the New Testament He spake through Christ and the apostles.

Organically connected with the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers is the doctrine of *justification by faith.* Faith is an internal power as opposed to an external ceremony. It does away with the idea of priestly intervention, and teaches that the penitent sinner can go directly to God and secure pardon.

The variations of doctrine among the reformers were numerous and often fundamental. Luther and Calvin were both Augustinians, but their points of view were far apart. They mainly agreed on predestination. But Luther was profoundly impressed with man's corruption and moral impotence. Nothing short of divine power could remove them. Calvin was especially moved by the majesty and infinite perfection of God. From the Divine Sovereignty the powerlessness of sinful human nature was a natural deduction.*

But there were also great doctrinal differences

*See **Green**: *Creeds*, p. 109.

between England and the continent. Augustine dominated the continental theology, and Augustine regarded most of the fundamental questions, such as Divine Sovereignty and Free Moral Agency, as settled. The Anglican theology was much more, but not completely, under the influence of Origen. "The Oxford Reformers," says **Seebohm**, "took a firm stand behind this dogmatic power; *behind* that of Augustine; *behind* even the schism between eastern and western Christendom; *behind* those patristic hypotheses which grew up into scholastic theology; *behind* that notion of church authority by which these hypotheses obtained a fictitious verification; *behind* the theory of plenary inspiration without which the Scriptures could not have been converted, as they were, to a mass of new material for the manufacture of any quantity of hypotheses—*behind* all these—on the foundation of fact which underlies them all" (*Oxford Reformers*, p. 146).

The statement of the earliest Protestant theology is found in the Augsburg Confession, composed by Melanchthon in 1530, and approved by Luther, and in Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*.

The *Schmalkald Articles* and the later *Catechism* were essentially the same. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone was perverted into antinomianism on one side by Agricola, and into mysticism on the other by Osiander.

With closer definition arose differences in Germany. These differences led to controversies. For instance, the question came up whether any of the Roman forms should be retained. To the rigid Lutherans they were sinful, but to Melanchthon's followers it was a matter of indifference. Thus arose the *Adiaphoristic*, or Indifference, controversy.

The question also arose as to whether there is still left in the sinful soul any power that may co-operate with the Holy Spirit. Some maintained the strict Augustinian view, and we have the *Synergistic*, or Co-operative, controversy.

The Swiss theology was embodied in the First Helvetic Confession (1536), in Calvin's Institutes (1536), and the Second Helvetic Confession (1566). The Catechisms followed closely.

In Holland the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession became the basis of theological instruction. But differences arose between infralapsarianism and supralapsarianism. Arminius, as we have seen, was asked to participate, and the final result was the great Arminian revolt, and the permanent establishment of Arminianism in the world, if not in Holland.

In England the theological statement of the established church is found in the Thirty-Nine Articles. But the rise of Puritanism led to a demand for revision of the Thirty-Nine Articles. But the idea of revision was soon abandoned, and the Westminster Assembly devoted its attention to the formation of a new constitution. After a great debate of nearly four years, in which representatives of many views participated, the Westminster Confession of Faith was adopted.

H. THE COUNTER REFORMATION

LITERATURE

Droysen: *Geschichte der Gegenreformation.*
Pennington: *The Counter-Reformation in Europe.*
Symonds: *The Catholic Reaction.* 2 vols.
Ward: *The Counter-Reformation.*

We have observed that all through the Middle Ages

there were individuals who earnestly desired reform. There were also great institutions, as the different orders of monasticism, whose founding was a protest against corruption in religion. The councils of Pisa, Constance and Basle were called to reform the church in head and members. Even in the time of Leo X. there was a decided reformatory spirit which expressed itself in the Oratory of Divine Love. It is not, therefore, surprising that when the Roman church stood face to face with widespread and determined revolution, the recuperative forces of Romanism should unite and make an earnest effort. Now the Reformation was to be radical, but the counter-reformation was to be conservative. While the motives of some of the Romanist reformers were selfish, on the whole it may be granted that the movement was sincere. But it sought a purification of morals and life within the forms of the mediæval hierarchy. It had not the slightest idea of yielding a single one of the points which the Protestants regarded as the chief sources of corruption. These were to remain intact.

There were still some who hoped for a compromise, and who would have Rome yield some points to the Protestants. Among these mediators were Erasmus, Wizel, Cassander and Contarini.

There were others who saw the strong points in the methods of the reformers and adopted them. Thus we see attempts to bring about reform through the diffusion of knowledge. Eck wrote in 1529 his *Loci Communes contra Haereticos*,—Commonplaces against Heretics—as a rejoinder to Melanchthon's *Commonplaces*. Emser made a translation of the Bible which has been called a poor imitation of Luther's translation. There were also various synodal attempts at

reformation. But all these efforts counted for little or nothing.

The counter-reformation was to be a great fact, but it was to come about chiefly through three agencies—the Order of Jesuits, the Council of Trent, and the Inquisition.

The Order of the Jesuits

LITERATURE

Hughes: *Loyola.*

Müller: *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jesus, Ignace et Lainez.* Shows that Loyola borrowed many of his leading ideas from the Mohammedans.

Steinmetz: *History of the Jesuits.* 3 vols.

This order was founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556). Disappointed in his military ambitions, Loyola, inspired by reading the lives of the saints, became a spiritual knight. He developed the plan for a new order, and was seconded by Xavier, Faber, Lainez and others. Their vows were poverty, chastity, and *obedience to the pope.* The new order had a constitution which was based upon Loyola's book of *Spiritual Exercises.* The discipline was the extreme of severity. There was to be absolute obedience of each member to the superior, and of the order to the pope. Among their principles we find the following: The end justifies the means; the right to make promises with mental reservations; the right to distinguish between theological obedience and philosophical obedience.

The original purpose of the Jesuits was to go to Palestine and spend their lives in efforts to convert the Saracens. But they had pledged obedience to the pope, and he desired to use them against the Protes-

tants. They began their work in Sweden, but they spread with unprecedented rapidity. The power of the organization was soon irresistible. They controlled and founded schools and colleges, and converts came in crowds from all classes of society. The order thus became one of the most powerful agencies in counteracting Protestantism.

The Council of Trent

LITERATURE

Le Plat: *Monumentorum ad Hist. Council. Trid. Spectantium Amplissima Collectio.*

Waterworth: *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.*

Sarpi: *Istoria del Conc. Trident.* 4 vols.

Bungener: *Histoire du Concile de Trente.*

Froude: *Lectures on the Council of Trent.*

Calvin: *The Canons of the Council of Trent.*

There had been numerous demands for a general council. But the experiences at Constance and Basel had taught the popes to beware of councils. But Paul III. finally yielded to the wishes of Charles V. and a general council was called. It finally met at Trent on December 15, 1545. The composition of the council showed several conflicting elements. Through bribery it was decided that the voting should be not by nations but by individuals. As the Italians were largely in the majority they controlled the decisions almost from the start. So the council was directed by Caraffa and the Jesuits. There was not the slightest showing for the liberals, or for the evangelical Romanists. It had been the wish of the emperor that the council should first give its attention to the subject of

reform. But, much to his disappointment, it took up the dogmas of the church. Its decrees were conservative to the core. It condemned the doctrines of the Reformation, and set up counter statements to almost every one of them.

It naturally began with the authority of the Scriptures. The apocryphal writings of the Old Testament were made canonical. The Vulgate as corrected by the pope was to be the only authentic version of the Scriptures. The sole interpreter of the Bible was the church. "Unwritten traditions, which have been received either from Christ himself, or transmitted in the church, are all to be accepted with respect and veneration equal to that which is due to the Scriptures." To the doctrine of justification by faith alone the merit of good works is opposed. If concupiscence remained in the individual after baptism it was not of the nature of sin. Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass were affirmed.

Indeed, all the principal mediæval features of the hierarchy were substantiated in a clear and logical form.

Some steps were taken towards reform, but the chief work of the Council of Trent was a restatement of the doctrines of Romanism. From this time Romanism took on a new life. It was consolidated and presented a compact and well-organized opposition to the Reformation.

*The Inquisition**

But it was not sufficient simply to meet and decree. The decrees of the council must be practically carried out. The most efficient means for accomplishing this

*See **Lea:** *History of the Inquisition.* 3 vols.

result was the Inquisition. Before the council it had been recognized on the recommendation of Caraffa. As Paul IV. he applied it relentlessly, and very soon there was hardly a trace of Protestantism left in Italy. But the Inquisition did not stop with the destruction of persons. It went further and destroyed all heretical books. It was so successful that in some localities the book trade was almost ruined. This movement resulted in the *Index Expurgatorius*, which included not only entire books but also objectionable passages in books.

Thus the counter-reformation became a tremendous factor in the course of events.

I. THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648)

LITERATURE

Gindely: *A History of the Thirty Years' War.* 2 vols.
Schiller: *The Thirty Years' War.*
Gardiner: *The Thirty Years' War.*
Stevens: *Gustavus Adolphus.*
Ditfurth: *Die historisch-politische Volkeslieder des dreissigen jährigen Krieges.*

But the period of the Reformation was not to close until the world should experience the most terrible war in history. The causes that led up to this war were various. The Germans had separated into Protestant and Roman parties. The peace of Augsburg had not recognized the Calvinists, and it was unsatisfactory both to the Protestants and to the Romanists. The Council of Trent had defined the dogmas of Romanism more clearly than ever, and had made the Romanists still more determined to crush Protestantism. The Jesuits had developed their powerful system, and had become a tremendous force in European society.

Their schools were thronged with the young men who were to be leaders in the effort to drive Protestantism from the face of the earth. They educated Ferdinand II., who more than any other single person was responsible for the horrors of the war.

But events flowed on in an unsatisfactory way until the Protestants, judging from the evident drift of things, formed a Protestant union in 1608. This led later on to the formation of a Romanist league. From considerations of policy the emperor Rudolph, in the *Letter of Majesty*, made important concessions to the Bohemians. When later on Matthias forbade the Protestants to build a church the Protestant Union came to the assistance of the Bohemians, and the Bohemian period of the Thirty Years' War was begun. It was soon ended with the complete overthrow of Protestantism.

This caused other nations to be concerned for their own safety. Christian III., king of Denmark, interfered, and the Danish period of the war came on in 1624. In this period the brilliant but brutal Wallenstein arose. As the finances of the empire were short, Wallenstein adopted the policy of making war pay its way, and the horrors of the war began to be realized.

The complete success of Wallenstein and Tilly led the emperor, Ferdinand II., to issue the Edict of Restitution in 1629. By this edict all endowments and church lands that had fallen into the hands of the Protestants since the Peace of Augsburg were to be restored to the Romanists. Many of the cases involved had been cases of conversion to Protestantism. They were widely distributed, and so all Germany was affected. The carrying out of the edict would have meant the ruin of Protestantism. But for-

tunately the Romanist League had become very jealous of Wallenstein, who was to carry the edict into effect. They demanded his resignation, and Ferdinand, not wishing to offend the league, reluctantly consented in 1630.

But now we come to the Swedish period of the war. We have seen that the Reformation spread from Germany to Sweden. Sweden is now to repay the debt with large interest. Sweden had become a strong nation. The king was Gustavus Adolphus, a soldier, a statesman and an ardent Protestant. Whatever may have been his political motives, he was entirely sincere in his desire to promote the cause of Protestantism. When he landed at Rugen in 1630 with fifteen thousand men the people hailed him as a deliverer, but the princes were suspicious of him. But the capture of Madgeburg by Tilly and its accompanying horrors, and Ferdinand's instructions to this same general to go into Saxony and break up an alliance of Protestant princes, brought the leaders to their senses. The Elector joined Gustavus. The tide now turned, and it looked as if all were now going to be lost to the emperor. Wallenstein was recalled, and defeated at Lützen in 1632. But the victory cost the allied powers their great general, for Gustavus was killed. But the work of Gustavus was carried on by Oxenstiern.

All sides were now growing weary of the war, and peace might have ensued had not the great Cardinal Richelieu interfered. In his plans for the unification and exaltation of France he saw a powerful rival in the house of Austria. We are thus led into the French period of the war, which lasts from 1635 to the end.

Richelieu entered into an agreement with Oxenstiern by which for services rendered he was to be repaid in German territory. Richelieu's work was carried on after his death by Mazarin, and his policy was realized. Ferdinand II. died in 1637. His son, Ferdinand III., now conducted a defensive war against the French and Swedes, each of whom sought to reimburse itself for the part it had taken in the war. Victory after victory on the part of the allies at last drove Ferdinand III. to accept the terms of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The cost of the war is truly appalling. It has been estimated that when Ferdinand II. died, in 1637, his policy had resulted in the death of ten millions of human beings. The population of Augsburg was diminished from eighty thousand to eighteen thousand. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the population of the German empire was about thirty millions, but at the close of the Thirty Years's War it was little more than twelve millions. So the figures run! The ravages were so great that even in our days, three hundred years later, many portions of the country have scarcely recovered.

But the Peace of Westphalia was one of the most important events in all history. It was practically the end of the Holy Roman Empire; it put France far ahead among the states of Europe; it made large additions of territory to Sweden and other states in the north; it recognized the independence of Holland and Switzerland; 1624 was fixed upon as the "normal year," and whether a state was to be Romanist or Protestant was determined by its position at that time; it put an end to religious persecution; and the Calvinists were recognized as having equal rights with the Lutherans and Romanists, and all three were to have the same freedom of conscience.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(1648–1789)

If we return to the consideration of the relations between church and state we shall find that since the time of Innocent III. the church has gradually lost its control over the state. The Reformation was a fatal blow to pretensions of this kind. As the years went by a reversal took place and the idea that the state should control the church had many advocates who, in some cases, were able to put their theories into practice to a limited extent. This theory was advanced by Thomasius, substantially accepted by Grotius, and defended in England by Selden. It is known as *Erastianism*, which is derived from a Graecized form of Lieber—a Heidelberg physician.*

In our own century the tendency seems to be towards disestablishment and the absolute separation of church and state. Any efforts in the opposite direction are probably sporadic.

The Peace of Westphalia finds us at the middle of the seventeenth century. While it was a great event in the progress of the world towards freedom, yet nobody was satisfied with it. This is not surprising. The peace was only a breathing spell, in which the world could look itself over, see what it had gained,

* See excellent note in **Hardwick**: *Reformation*, p. 328.

and lay plans for advance. For every problem that the Reformation solved it developed several new ones, and social, political, and religious history becomes far more complicated than ever before. The student as he proceeds will meet currents and counter-currents. The conservatism of Rome is to gain new strength. Protestantism is to develop within itself conservatism and radicalism—these two constituent qualities of progress which lie back of human nature. Through and by means of conflict the world is to move on towards higher and better things.

With the seventeenth century a new state has its beginnings, and henceforth will demand the increasing attention of the student—America. It will be convenient in the succeeding pages to make the following divisions: Church Development on the Continent; Church Development in England; and Church Development in America.

A. Church Development on the Continent

From the period of the Reformation there are two main divisions of church history—Romanism and Protestantism. Each division has its problems and its perplexities.

a. the developments in romanism

The princes at the Peace of Westphalia were actuated mainly by political motives. They consequently had very little regard for the papacy. The result was that the papacy received a serious set-back, and the popes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were much weakened in their attempts to solve the problems which confronted them.

Among the problems that arose for the Romanists to settle we may notice:

Difficulties in the Gallican Church

From the Middle Ages there had been in France a spirit that sought to limit the encroachments of the papacy. As a result of later developments we have a process leading to the Four Articles, a declaration made by the French clergy in 1682.

Jansenism

LITERATURE

Rapin: *Histoire de Jansenisme.*

Neal: *History of the so-called Jansenist Church in Holland.*

Beard: *Port Royal.* 2 vols.

Pascal: *Provincial Letters.*

Jansenism grew out of the controversies on grace. It originated with Michael Bajus, who was a professor of theology at Louvain in 1551. Through Jesuit influences Augustinianism had been almost completely eliminated from the Roman theology. But, on the other hand, Augustine becomes the controlling force in Protestant theology. Bajus was an Augustinian. But through the influence of the Scotist Franciscans, Pius V. condemned seventy-six propositions of Bajanism. But a pope's condemnation had lost much of its power, and the Louvain professors continued to teach Augustinianism, and in 1587 they condemned thirty-four of the propositions of the Jesuits. This greatly aroused the Jesuits. In 1589 Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, sought to conciliate the opposing party. His book was entitled *Concord of Grace and Free Will.* His teaching was decidedly Semi-Pelagian, and this stirred

up the Dominicans, who, following Aquinas, made the divine agency the factor in conversion.

The doctrine of Molina was changed by the Jesuits into what was called *Congruism.* Congruism was taught in all their schools.

But the controversy between Molina and the Dominicans grew to considerable proportions. The pope was asked to decide the question, but evaded the responsibility by calling a small council—*congregationes de auxiliis gratiae*—to which he entrusted the decision. Nothing, however, was accomplished.

But the controversy is to become much more serious through the teaching of Cornelius Jansen, professor at Louvain, from 1630 to 1636, and bishop of Ypres from 1636 to 1638, the date of his death. Jansen went into a thorough examination of the whole Augustinian system of grace. The results of his studies were embodied in a book entitled *Augustinus.*

There are three parts to the work. The first part points out the agreement between Pelagianism, Semi-Pelagianism, and Molinism. The second part shows the insufficiency of reason for a knowledge of grâce. The third part maintains that, "Man's conversion is accomplished by the irresistible action of grace, man of himself being absolutely helpless to contribute anything to it."

The book was strongly opposed by the Jesuits. Nevertheless it was published in 1640—two years after the author's death—and with the approval of the Sorbonne. It was put under the ban by Urban VIII. in 1642. When it had undergone a critical examination five heretical propositions were found. These propositions were condemned in 1653 by Innocent IX. The Jansenists, a new band of men at Port Royal,

denied that the propositions were in the book, but the pope replied that they were there in spirit. He assured them, however, that the bull did not affect Augustine's doctrine of *gratia efficax*, or efficacious grace. They then pretended to accept the bull.

In 1656 Pascal's *Provincial Letters* came out and indirectly administered a scathing rebuke to the Jesuits. Alexander VII. issued another bull declaring that the condemned propositions were in Augustine. The Jansenists resisted and were persecuted, and many of them fled the country. Finally, through Clement IX. (1667-1670), a pacification was brought about.

The settlement, however, was only temporary, for between 1671 and 1687 Quesnel published his *Moral Reflections*. The pope in the bull *Vineam Domini* annulled the pacification. The book was condemned in 1705, and in 1710 the bull *Unigenitus* was issued condemning one hundred and one propositions in the work. Quesnel was extreme in his statements. He concludes: "If God wishes to save the creature, saved he will infallibly be; and hence if the creature be lost it is because God would have it so."

But the bull *Unigenitus* was equally extreme, and it gave great offense to moderate Romanists.

The general result of the Jansenist movement was two parties in the Roman communion. One opposed the curia, the constitution and the doctrines of the time. It was progressive. The other was thoroughly conservative and jealous for all the claims of Romanism. The leaders of this second party were the Jesuits.

The Overthrow of the Jesuits

Jansenism was one of the many causes that contributed to the overthrow of this order. The sarcasms

of Pascal were like barbed arrows which could not be removed. The order, through its vicious ethics practically applied, fell into almost universal disfavor. It was suppressed in Portugal, France, Spain, and finally by Pope Clement XIV. in 1773 the "whole order, numbering 20,000 men, was suppressed and its clerical members ordered to fall into the ranks of the secular clergy."

The consequences of the downfall of the Jesuits were far-reaching. It shook Romanism to its very basis. "It was the fall of the outworks of mediæval popery. Assaults on the citadel rapidly followed." In France religion was overthrown by the Republicans. In Italy the history of papal supremacy was examined and its devious ways were pointed out. The Inquisition was forbidden, religious pageantry was reduced, spiritual courts were brought under control, and the clergy were taxed as laymen.

In Austria great reforms were undertaken by Joseph II. His doctrine was that all national agencies should be concentrated in the crown. He restricted Roman bulls; prohibited pilgrimages; abolished mendicant monks; converted half the monasteries into colleges, hospitals, and barracks, and demanded that the establishments should subserve pastoral and educational purposes. The vernacular was to be used for all services except the mass. Protestants and Greeks were to be tolerated.*

But Joseph had not learned that great reformation cannot take place suddenly. His intentions were the best, but he did not live long enough for his people to find him out. At the early age of forty-nine (1790) he succumbed to a fever. His epitaph, according to his

*See **Jennings**: *Manual of Church History*. Vol. II.

own wish, was: "Here lies a prince whose intentions were pure, but who had the misfortune to see all his plans shattered."

Quietism

We have seen how mysticism represented a revolt against the deadness of scholastic theology. Quietism was a mystical reaction against the heartless rationalism of the seventeenth century. It was much less serious in its consequences than Jansenism, yet it caused considerable of a stir.

Quietism had three chief promoters:

a. Michael Molinos—a Spaniard (1627-1696)

Molinos was the chief agent in starting the movement. The title of his book was *The Spiritual Guide*. At first it was very popular. But its tendencies were soon discovered, and its author was compelled to retract. He was, nevertheless, imprisoned until his death.

The doctrine of Molinos is as follows: "To be perfect the soul must be quiet, neither reasoning, sympathizing, nor exercising any faculty whatever; the most exalted state of the spiritual life being that in which one is wholly oblivious of self, yet wholly occupied with God. In order that the soul may retire to its principle and the source of its being, it must annihilate itself, be changed, transformed, and divinized. But to accomplish this the mental faculties must cease, the soul must be passive, incapable of meditating, or even of having a good thought of God Himself. Its sole function is passively to receive the infused light of heaven, the accompaniment of a purely inactive state of contemplation" (**Alzog**, Vol. III, p. 512).

Objections were raised as follows: Such an indifferent soul would disregard heaven, hell, and the church; it would cease to practice charity and would lapse into sensuality; the functions of corporeal sense would be wholly disregarded; the sensitive soul, the bodily senses, and the bodily members would be left unregulated, and thus run riot, and plunge into the deepest immorality; the inevitable result would be pantheism.

b. Madame Guyon (1648-1717)

She was a woman of high culture and genuine piety. Her views were essentially those of Molinos—complete self-abnegation. To her rewards and punishments are no motives. The soul in its enjoyment of God is so completely enraptured that it would with utter indifference consent to be damned. These ideas were developed in her works, entitled: *A Short and Easy Method of Prayer; Spiritual Torrents; Mystical Works; Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures.*

c. Fenelon (1761-1715)

This great French preacher and writer was led to examine the works of Madam Guyon. He was so much impressed with their many excellencies that when Bossuet made his attack on her in his book, *On States of Prayer*, he defended her in his *Maxims of the Saints.* Previously Bossuet and Fenelon had been friends. But this difference led to an estrangement and a bitter controversy. *The Maxims of the Saints* was finally submitted to Pope Innocent XII. The decision was that: "Fenelon has erred by the excess of his love of God, Bossuet by the lack of love for his neighbor." Fenelon received the mild condemnation just as he

was going into the pulpit to preach. It is said that with tears he retracted before the congregation.

Missions

The conception of the Jesuits was universal. The world was to be brought to Romanism. The great missionary was Xavier, the room-mate and disciple of Loyola. He carried Romanism to India and the Orient, and soon reported hundreds of thousands of converts. He was not very severe in his requirements, and so it became easy for the heathen to accept his teaching without any real change of heart.

The Jesuits also went to Japan and Mexico and Paraguay; and established missionary centers along the St. Lawrence; and reached the Indian tribes on Lake Michigan, and also the tribes of what is now Illinois.

B. DEVELOPMENTS IN PROTESTANTISM

LITERATURE

Hagenbach: *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* 2 vols.

That the people who had inherited the results of Roman thralldom should at once understand and properly use the still limited freedom of Protestantism is not to be expected. It would naturally take a long time to escape entirely from the externalism of Rome, and develop the internalism of a genuine Christianity. The doctrine of justification by faith alone was inadequate, and it was misinterpreted. The immediate results, therefore, upon the lives of the people were far from satisfactory even in Luther's day, and they did not rapidly improve in quality as time went on. Yet the leaven of the pure Gospel was working. Com-

pulsory celibacy being abolished, there was an increased purity in home life, and public decency began to be not only honored but demanded. Education made much progress, both in the way of public schools and of universities. These institutions offered courses extending over seven years, and thus opportunities were given for the education of a Gospel ministry.

Already at the opening of the seventeenth century the dogmatic spirit had asserted itself, and was creating a profound interest. Its usual accompaniment of spiritual coldness called out such men as Weizel and Böhme, who, not finding in the theology of their times the satisfaction that they longed for, taught the doctrine of the inner light.

Another teacher of wide influence was Johann Arndt (1555-1621). His book on *True Christianity* presented a very exalted ideal. It was mystical, taught Christian perfection, and intimate fellowship with God. Near the end of his life Arndt explained in a letter to a friend the reasons why he wrote *True Christianity.* They were: "I desired: (1) To withdraw the minds of students from theological disputes. (2) To lead Christians from a dead to a living faith. (3) To lead them from mere knowledge and theory to actual practice of faith and godliness. (4) To show what is a true Christian life which is one with true faith. (5) To show what the apostle means when he says, 'I live; yet not I, but Christ, liveth in me.' "

Efforts were made at church union. The Reformed were well disposed, but most of the Lutherans stood aloof. Mildenius is credited with the expression: "In essentials unity; in non-essentials liberty; in all things charity."

The most advanced advocate of church union was George Calixtus (1586-1656). Calixtus wished to "substitute the reign of charity for the reign of dogma." He pleaded for mutual toleration. His enlarged conception, resulting from thorough study of church history, was wide enough to include Romanists, Reformed and Lutherans. He met with great opposition—especially from the Wittenberg theologians led by Calovius. He died branded with Romanism and infidelity, and his effort proved to be premature.

After the treaty of Westphalia the Lutheran churches enjoyed freedom from persecution without but became divided within. In attempting to formulate a system of doctrine which should embody the substance of evangelical truth gained in the Reformation, Lutheranism had gone far back towards the spiritual deadness of Romanism. This condition of things could not be endured by the more genuinely spiritual members of the church.

We come then to the results as seen in:

Pietism and Orthodoxy

LITERATURE

Ritschl: *Geschichte des Pietismus.* 3 vols.
Nippold: *Neueste Kirchengeschichte.* 3 vols.
Hurst: *History of Rationalism.* Chaps. I-III.
Good: *History of the Reformed Churches in Germany.* All of Bk.IV.
Walrond: *Philip James Spener.*

Pietism has been called a revolt of the heart against the encroachments of the head. Events had been tending in this direction for many years. Finally a great leader appeared in Philip James Spener (1635-

1705). Spener was educated at Strasburg; became a leading clergyman at Frankfort in 1666; court preacher at Dresden in 1686; "fell into disgrace" because he reproached the king for drunkenness; and was appointed Provost at Berlin in 1691.

While he was at Frankfort he became deeply impressed with the fact that the sermons of the day were not reaching the people. They were excessively dogmatic, and they were utterly intolerant towards those who differed from them. In his own work he sought the simplicity of the language and ideas of the Bible, and avoided controversy. He revived the catechetical exercises which had fallen into disuse and made them thrill with new life.

Convinced that in addition to the public services there should be private meetings for prayer and other religious exercises, he began in 1670 to hold such meetings in his own house. These meetings were the beginning of the *Collegia Pietatis*. At first Spener repeated his sermons, and explained passages from the New Testament. There was also an opportunity for free discussion. After 1675 they used only the Bible in these meetings. In 1675 he published his *Pia Desideria*. He described the moral condition of the Evangelical church "in respect to the secular authorities, the clergy, and domestic life"; claimed that improvement was demanded; and that it was to come through a better knowledge of the Bible. The chief difficulty lay with the clergy. With them religion had become a mere matter of understanding. Their business was to defend orthodoxy. They knew nothing of personal piety, and they could lead the people no higher than they had gone themselves. He desired, therefore, a reformation in theological educa-

tion. What young men in preparation for the ministry needed before everything else was personal piety. Theology was something different from and far above philosophy. If such a reformation could take place in the clergy, it would follow in all the walks of life. Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers was true, but the church must have leaders.

Pia Desideria attracted much attention. *Collegia Pietatis* were introduced in other places, and Spener soon had a large following. When he went to Dresden he found a stronghold of orthodoxy, and his influence was large. He set about the reform of theological instruction in the universities. It seems impossible that at Leipsic no lectures on exegesis had been given for years, yet it was so. But Spener caused such lectures to be resumed. The lecturers were Francke, Schade, and Anton. They lectured in German. Their object was not learned exposition, but simply to bring out the spiritual and practical teachings of the Scriptures. The lectures were very popular, being attended both by students and citizens.

But the opposition was soon very strong and the lecturers were obliged to leave Leipsic. They went to the newly-founded University of Halle, where the theological faculty was organized by Spener. Halle soon became the center of the pietistic movement.

It was at Halle that Francke founded the celebrated Orphan House. At first the meetings were held in his own house, but in 1698 the foundations were laid for the vast group of buildings which are a wonder even to-day. The Orphan House was a great aid in the spiritual and intellectual development of Germany.

Two parties now arose within the Lutheran body. The first was the pietists, whose antecedents were Cal-

vinistic, with their base at Halle. The second was the orthodox, having their center at Wittenberg.

A comparison of pietism and orthodoxy shows that the pietists put the emphasis on the regeneration of the heart by the grace of God. The necessary result is fruit as seen in good works. The pietists maintained that certain current expressions which had been abused should be abandoned. Among these was the one that, "Good works are not necessary for salvation, that in the act of justification faith alone is concerned." To them the Scriptures were the only source of faith and practice. The fine distinctions of the theologians counted for little. If the Bible is to be understood the mind must be illuminated by the Holy Spirit. The encroachments of philosophy upon theology were largely responsible for the lamentable condition of society. The entire life in all its phases should be a perpetual worship of God. Amusements such as dancing, card-playing, theater-going and jesting were condemned.

Orthodoxy, on the other hand, had become entirely speculative, as dead and as barren as the scholasticism of the Middle Ages. Indeed, it had become a new scholasticism. It accordingly stood in almost direct opposition to nearly every principle that pietism stood for.

Results of the Pietistic Movement

When such movements arise and carry so many wise and thoughtful people with them it is always true that they emphasize great but neglected elements of truth. It also invariably happens that truths equally important on the opposite side are overlooked and the new movement becomes as extreme in its way as the side against which it has revolted. But the results of the

two extremes meeting is a fresh contribution to progress. And so the results of pietism are marked and far-reaching.

1. Without intending it to be so, pietism gave an impulse to the scientific study of the Scriptures. This came about through the great emphasis which it put upon a knowledge of the Biblical languages.

2. Unintentionally, also, the pietists developed moderation in theology. Whether they wished to do so or not, theologians were compelled to see that theology had become too speculative, and consequently barren of results in the lives of the people. And so, without yielding too much to the emotional element, they at last found themselves recognizing the merits and defects of both sides. This placed them on a middle ground.

3. It awakened a new interest in church history. Gottfried Arnold, one of the extreme pietists, wrote a church history. This called out numerous replies—notably the careful and scholarly work of Mosheim.

4. The Herrnhutters.* This sect was a practical outcome of the spirit of pietism. They began with an association of families who came together on the estate of Count Louis von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). His residence was the Hutberg, or Watch Hill. These families built their residences at the foot of the hill in 1722. The name was afterwards changed to Herrnhut, or the Watch of the Lord—*Unter der Hut des Herrn.* The founding of a new sect was farthest from Zinzendorf's thought. Members were received from all the Protestant churches, and they were not asked to leave their churches.

The company was mixed, but Zinzendorf unified it

* See **Hamilton:** *A History of the Moravian Church.*

according to a constitution called the Fundamental Articles. There were three principal classes—the *Moravians*, the *Reformed*, and the *Lutherans*—each of which had equal rights in the general association.

There was one central thought that dominated the whole community—"intimate union with the Saviour." His death upon the cross was their one certainty and hope—to Him they looked for guidance. Zinzendorf said: "God the Father is not directly our Father, but the Lord Jesus Christ is our real Father; we have to do only with the Son."

They cared nothing for the distinctions of the systematic theologians, and they condemned the method of Bible study which sought for doctrines. "The Bible," they said, "is obscure, no human learning can interpret it, but only the Spirit who illuminated the sacred writers themselves."

5. Great missionary activity. The Moravians were fired with a great zeal for the spread of the Gospel. They extended their influence to Greenland, the West Indies, America and Africa. "There is," says **Scudder,** "scarcely a country where the Moravians have not attempted to gain a foothold, and it is the marvel and admiration of the church to-day that a body weak in numbers, education, and wealth, should accomplish so great a work" (*Nineteen Centuries of Missions*, p. 67).

It is needless to say that this pietistic movement called out strenuous opposition. It was led by such men as Bengel and Baumgarten. But that it was very helpful to evangelical Christianity cannot be doubted.

We are to see further results in the great Methodist revival in England, and in the religious awakening in America.

The Period of Investigation and Reconstruction

For many years after Luther and Calvin had passed away Protestant thought rested on the results attained. But by the opening of the seventeenth century it began to be evident that all the problems were not yet solved, and that the existing condition of thought was far from satisfactory. The spirit of aggressiveness accordingly began to manifest itself. This manifestation is seen in the realms of philosophy, literature and theology. The new activity in all these lines has its basis in the general spirit of the age, and the relations between the different spheres are organic. Thought is cosmopolitan, and refuses to be limited by systems, creeds, or national boundaries. That the world is ready for a mighty advance movement is seen:

a. In Philosophy

1. Descartes (1596-1650)

Modern philosophy on the continent began with Descartes. From the dates given it is seen that the period of his literary activity is almost identical with that of the Thirty Years' War. We have seen that Anselm's principle was *Credo ut Intelligam.* Realizing that all our knowledge, having come to us through the senses, is somewhat vitiated, Descartes takes for his principle: *Dubito ut Intelligam*—I doubt in order that I may know. His universal doubt when investigated led to his formula, *Cogito, ergo sum*, not as an inference but as a self-evident proposition. He then gets back the whole constitution of the nature of spirit; the universal rule of certainty; and the knowledge of God—the clearest of all ideas. The results of Descartes's investi-

gation are: God the Absolute; and body the extended substance. He has thus placed mind and matter in complete separation, and left no satisfactory solution as to how they are to get together. The consequences are to be momentous.

2. The Occasionalists

Geulinx (1625-1669) took up the problem. According to him the soul does not act directly upon the body, nor the body directly on the soul. God alone conforms the inner to the outer. "On *occasion* of my will God moves my body. On *occasion* of an affection of my body God excites an idea in my mind."

Malebranche (1638-1715) raised the question: How does the soul attain a knowledge of the external world? The answer is: Only by seeing things in a third something that is above the antithesis—God. Thus these two philosophers overcome the dualism by occasionalism.

This unsatisfactory condition of things cannot last. Maybe, after all, there is one substance. Maybe God is all; maybe mind is all; maybe matter is all—pantheism, idealism, materialism.

3. Spinoza (1632-1677)

According to Spinoza the Infinite Being is one simple substance. Substantial existence belongs to nothing finite. The Infinite Being has two attributes—thought and extension. Hence we have a double theophany—mind and material things. With Spinozism, personality, freedom, design, final causes, all vanish.

"We now stand," says Schwegler, "by a knot point, a ganglion, a commissure, in the onward course of

philosophy. Descartes had demonstrated the antithesis of thought and existence, of mind and matter, and postulated a principle of resolution for it." It failed with him and his immediate followers. Spinoza abandoned it and ended in pantheism, but is still enchained in the Cartesian presuppositions of *extension* and *thought*. The dualism still remains. The only alternative is in the annihilation of one of the sides. Either the ideal must be explained from the material, or the material must be explained from the ideal. Since neither side could prevail we have the contemporaneous development of materialism and idealism.

(*1*) *Materialism*

John Locke (*1632-1704*)

England was the land of Occam, Roger and Francis Bacon. These men had already exemplified the peculiarity of the English mind, which is positiveness as opposed to mysticism or speculation. With Locke the age of criticism was fully ushered in, and thought received an impetus and direction which continue to our own days. Locke's great contention was against innate ideas. The sources of our knowledge are *sensation* and *reflection*.

Through Voltaire the philosophy of Locke was introduced into France and resulted in absolute sensationalism.

Condillac (1715-1780) rejected Locke's second source of knowledge—*reflection*.

La Mettrie (1709-1751), getting his suggestion from Descartes's *Treatise on the Passions of the Soul*, advanced from Descartes's animal-machine to the man-machine, and then unhesitatingly to the position that, "Physical

enjoyment is the chief end of man." "The world will never be happy until atheism is universal." "At death all is up—Moral: Let us enjoy while we can, and never throw a chance away."

The *Encyclopedia* was one of the fullest expressions of the materialism of France. It was edited by Diderot (1713-1784).

(2) *The Illumination*

The general features, especially of the last half of the eighteenth century, are expressed in the word "Illumination"—*Aufklärung*. The causes of this state of society were: The discoveries in physical science; the great awakening in philosophy, through the influence of Descartes and Locke; the determination of men to be free from the power of tradition.

The Illumination sought to discover "the eternal, the rational, the inherent in human nature, and the nature of things." "A natural law, a natural society, and a natural religion shone as the great ideals on the intellectual horizon, and carried away the world of the eighteenth century in a movement of passionate endeavor. The Illumination was naturalistic to the core, but it prepared the way for the rise of modern society" (**Sohm**: *O. C. H.*, p. 195).

(3) *Idealism*

If the movement of thought in England and France was towards materialism, in Germany it was towards idealism. If in France "spirit came to be regarded as nothing but finer matter," in Germany matter came to be regarded as only "crassified spirit," or, as Leibnitz puts it, "confused ideation."

The course of the development will be best indicated

by mentioning the great men who represent its several stages.

The first of these great men is Leibnitz (1646-1716).

His general positions are: The essential mark of substance is activity; substance is individual—a monad; there is a plurality of monads; the universe is made up of monads which are without extension or division—just the opposite of the atoms of the materialist; each monad is independent of all, yet related to all; each monad is a mirror of the universe; there is a pre-established harmony of the monads; God is the sufficient reason for all the monads.

But the supreme test came when he attempted to bring his theism and his monadology into union. In this he was not successful.

The ideas of Leibnitz were systematized by Christian Wolf (1679-1754), professor in the University of Halle. Wolf claimed for philosophy all knowledge, and so attempted an encyclopedia of all knowledge in the highest sense of the word; made philosophical method a subject of study; "made philosophy talk German."

Wolf became extremely popular. His ideas went into the pulpit, and the schools and society. But he came into conflict with the pietists. They worked through Frederick William I., whose prejudice against the learned class was well known, and whose weakness for tall soldiers was utilized. "Soldiers might take it into their heads that they were pre-established or fore-ordained to desert." Wolf was given forty-eight hours to leave Halle—or take the halter.

We have seen the stream of philosophy divide and flow in separate channels. In the one case there was danger that it would lose itself in the soil; in the other, that it would evaporate and become etherealized.

There was need of some transcendent genius who could unite the diverging streams.

Such a man was Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). He was kindly disposed towards all sides, and sought to harmonize all thought.

The two factors in his philosophy were the subject which knows and the object which is known, or the origin of our experience. In the *Critique of Pure Reason* we learn that we know only appearances—not things in themselves; experience alone is our field of knowledge, a science of the unconditioned is not possible; when we attempt it we involve ourselves in the greatest contradictions. Therefore knowledge of God, free-will and immortality does not exist for criticism.

But in the *Critique of Practical Reason* the structure that has been destroyed is rebuilt upon the solid foundation of the categorical imperative—the moral law within us. From this he argues the existence of God, the freedom of the will, and the immortality of the soul.

"Two things there are," says **Kant** in the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (*Beschluss*), "which, the oftener and the more steadfastly we consider, fill the mind with an ever new and ever rising admiration and reverence: *the starry heaven* ABOVE, *the moral law* WITHIN. Of neither am I compelled to seek out the reality, as veiled in darkness, or only to conjecture the possibility, as beyond the hemisphere of my knowledge. Both I contemplate lying clear before me, and connect both immediately with my consciousness of existence. The one departs from the place I occupy in the outer world of sense; expands beyond the bounds of imagination, this connection of my body with worlds rising

beyond worlds, and system blending into system; and protends it also into the illimitable times of their periodic movement—to its commencement and perpetuity. The other departs from my invisible self, from my personality; and represents me in a world, truly infinite, indeed, but whose infinity can be tracked out only by the intellect; with which also my connection, unlike the fortuitous relation in which I stand to worlds of sense, I am compelled to recognize as universal and necessary."

Kant was indeed an individualist, but with him the individual is universal. This is not a contradiction. "For a knowing subject, for whom the whole finite world, including his own finite existence, is an object, cannot himself be comprehended in that world as limited by any of its conditions. As there can be no world of objects except for a self, it is impossible that such a self should be merely one of these objects. Thus, as knowing, or capable of knowing, all things, man cannot be identified with any of them; or if, from one point of view, as an individual he is identified, yet he has within him a universal principle that carries him beyond the limits of his personality. And this contrast shows itself also in his practical life." Man knows that despite all the impulses of passion he *ought* to obey the moral law—and therefore he knows that he *can* obey it. Thus in Kant the eighteenth century individualism which began by depressing man ends by exalting him. The animal part of his nature is transitory. But as a member of the intelligible world he is "a spectator of all time and all existence, and gifted with the absolute freedom of a will which could be determined by nothing but itself."*

*See **Caird:** *Progress of the Century*, pp. 148-149.

The influence of Kant on theology at once became overwhelming, and it continues to our own times. He came out a practical idealist.

In Fichte (1765-1814) Kant's practical idealism became subjective idealism. Kant had taught that we can know only phenomena—not the thing in itself. The thing in itself is the only externality beyond the reach of cognition. With Fichte the thing in itself becomes a thought, a principle of causation, a subject. The subject proceeds out from itself, and its limitations become the objects of its contemplation. The source of all being is the impersonal ego. Sensation has nothing to do with knowledge, which is the simple creation of the ego. The only method, therefore, is the aprioristic method. For example, a philosophy of history is not concerned with the facts of history. The only science is the science of the ego. The personality of God is denied because personality involves limitation. In the place of God, Fichte puts the moral order of the world. Ethics and religion are identical. Fichte was accused of atheism, and resigned his professorship at Jena in 1799. He afterwards received an appointment at Berlin which he filled until his death.

b. In Literature

In the eighteenth century theology and literature were not widely separated. As in philosophy, so in literature, we have an epoch-making period in Germany. New conceptions of history were introduced by Niebuhr; learning received a powerful impulse through Winkelmann and Heyne; the literary spirit was quickened by the writings of Von Hagedow and Von Haller; the *Messiah* of **Clopstock** raised him to a high position among the literary men of his time; **Wie-**

land's *Oberon* and *Agathon* were great contributions to poetry and prose.

*1. Lessing (1729-1781)**

Lessing's father was a devout Lutheran minister. It was the desire of his parents that he might enter the ministry. But the bent of his mind was in another direction. At Leipsic he heard Ernesti, met Mylius, a freethinker, and became the associate of theatrical players. He went to Berlin, which was notorious for its freethinking under Frederick II. Here he came into contact with illuminism, which was entirely congenial to him.

After varied experiences he became librarian of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel in 1770. He began to give the world its treasures—old and new. In 1774 he entered upon the publication of the Wolfenbüttel *Fragments* — probably the work of a Hamburg school teacher twenty years before. In these *Fragments* the credibility of the Gospels is attacked. The authors were cunning deceivers who had a secret plan. This is especially claimed in the *Fragment on the Purpose of Jesus and His Disciples*, which appeared in 1777. The purpose of Jesus was: "To reform Judaism, and in spite of the universal Roman supremacy,to establish an earthly Messianic kingdom. . . . When the plan failed the disciples attributed a spiritual meaning to the doctrine of God's kingdom and invented also the history of the resurrection of Jesus. . . . The whole matter is made the result of a cold and cunning calculation."

The publication of this pamphlet created widespread anxiety among the earnest and thoughtful. If the

*See **Davidson:** *Lessing and the New Humanism.*

positions maintained in the *Fragment* were true, young men who were preparing for the ministry could not conscientiously continue their preparation. The sincerity of theologians was doubted. Lessing was attacked by pastor Goetz of Hamburg, who was far below him in ability, and who was worsted in the conflict. Lessing made the comparison of the shepherd and the plant collector. The shepherd must lead and guard his sheep, but the plant collector must bring all kinds of plants within the circle of science. Lessing had no sympathy with the weak, and they were not to be considered in the advancement of science. He was thus utterly reckless in his statements, as when he said: "If truth were offered me on one hand and the search for truth on the other, I would choose the search after truth." He forgot that, "Truth is the common blessing of all. That it elevates the lowest people above the narrow horizon of their earthly limitations and their earthly grief. That it keeps the wisest man humble, and teaches him to be silent and adore where the horizon of his understanding ceases."

Two of Lessing's most characteristic works are *Nathan the Wise*, and *The Education of the Human Race.*

2. *Basedow* (*1723-1790*)

Basedow was an educational reformer. His teacher was Reimarus. He was much interested in the theological controversies, and had views which he incorporated in his educational theories. Basedow had the gift of simplifying difficult subjects and bringing them within the comprehension of children. One of his fundamental pedagogical principles was that: "A child should not become acquainted with the name of

God until he is ten years old. He should not be introduced to a knowledge of Christianity until he is fourteen years old." He sought to bring out the entire natural and universal traits of human nature. In him we have a separation of humanity and Christianity. He established a school in Dessau known as Philanthropin. The consequences of Basedow's teaching were momentous.

3. Nicolai (born 1733)

Another side of the new skepticism was promoted by Nicolai, who sought the diffusion of literature through the printing press. He was born in Berlin, and received a part of his education at the Orphan House at Halle. Nicolai's experiences here were far from agreeable. He says: "By preaching religion almost every hour, the morality of the institution sank very low." As an instance of the limited range of the studies he mentions that the students had no knowledge of any Greek book except the New Testament.

When he returned to Berlin he made the acquaintance of Lessing and Mendelssohn, and gave himself up to literary labors.

In connection with these he published the *Library of Belles-Lettres and Sciences* after 1757. This was followed by the *Universal German Library* — commenced in 1765. Beginning with about fifty writers, it increased the number to one hundred and thirty. It was a free lance, and through it every form of rationalism and skepticism found the freest expression. In its sweeping denunciations not only were the pietists included, but even Goethe, Kant, and Fichte. The *Universal German Library* had an extensive circulation and brought large financial returns to its promoters.

c. In Theology

In the general upheaval theology came in for its full share. Investigation was the order of the day, and reconstruction always follows investigation. Theology was mightily influenced by the revolutions that took place in philosophy and literature.

The great men through whom the new spirit found expression were:

1. Johann August Ernesti (1707-1781)

Ernesti was a distinguished classical scholar who brought his learning to bear upon New Testament interpretation. His fundamental principle was that: "The Bible must be rigidly examined according to its own language, and must not be bribed by the authority of the church, nor by feeling, nor by allegorizing fancy, nor by any system of philosophy." The rigid application of this principle made him the pioneer of strict grammatical interpretation.

Ernesti did not mean to break with the church. His carefulness made him moderate, and his general influence was wholesome. As we have seen, Lessing heard him at Leipsic.

2. Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791)

Semler was educated at the Orphan House at Halle. Unlike Nicolai he found the pietistic principles congenial to his nature, and it was only later on in his career that, under the influence of Baumgarten, he became liberalized in his views. He was appointed professor at Halle in 1752.

The qualities of Semler's mind were diligence, retentiveness, close observation, keen perception,

aggressiveness, dogmatism. His mind was not constructive. His field was Biblical literature and church history. That he might be unbiased in his conclusions, he always went back to original sources.

The result was great enthusiasm among his students, and a burning zeal for investigation. His broad knowledge of history made him sympathetic towards all the great systems of the past. He said: "Inward piety, and not the doctrine, makes the Christian." The first he called *private* religion, the second *public* religion, which is necessary, since there must be some outward standard of appeal.

3. Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791)

Michaelis, who was a professor at Göttingen, was an oriental scholar. His learning in this field enabled him to make important contributions to the historical side of Biblical criticism and interpretation.

Other men of distinction were: Mosheim, the church historian at Göttingen (1694-1775); Griesbach at Jena, New Testament textual critic (1745-1812); Eichhorn at Jena and afterwards at Göttingen (1752-1827). Eichhorn was a somewhat erratic genius who made substantial contributions to Biblical criticism and had wide influence.

This new spirit of investigation and readjustment created a profound impression. It manifested itself, as we have seen, in philosophy, in literature and in theology — where greater thoroughness in Biblical exegesis and church history were the crowning achievements.

That the traditional theology would yield at once to the new demands was not to be expected. And yet the old theologians found themselves facing one of

two alternatives. Either the old doctrines must be surrendered entirely, or they must be revised and restated. The latter alternative was generally accepted, and there were two excellent results—the post-reformation scholasticism was destroyed, and applied Christianity received a new impulse.

Among the leading theologians who were deeply moved by the new spirit without yielding entirely were Seiler of Erlangen, Döderlein of Jena, and Morus of Leipsic. Morus was the most radical of the three. He gave up several doctrines which he thought a strict exegesis would not yield. Among them were the imputation of Adam's sin; the ubiquity of Christ's human nature. The eternity of future punishment he thought was doubtful.

Reaction under Frederick William II.

Frederick William II. had none of the strong points of his father. He was even more opposed to education than his father. From him came the greatest menace to free inquiry. He assumed the government with the firm purpose of eradicating innovations in religion. His minister was Wölner, who had been a preacher. Frederick issued an edict in 1788 commanding all preachers to return to orthodoxy. The penalty for failure to do so was to be removal from office. In order that candidates for the ministry might be properly tested, an *Immediate Commission* was constituted, and a scheme of examinations was prepared. Professors were warned to change the tone of their instructions. Two commissioners, Hermas and Hilmer, made a tour of visitation of the schools and churches to purge them of heterodoxy. They were driven out of Halle by the students in 1795.

The difficulty with Frederick's movement was that it went straight in the face of an intelligent public opinion, and so it could not be carried out. It died out immediately after the death of Frederick in 1797.

Swedenborgianism

On the whole, and considered in itself, the eighteenth century was one of spiritual decadence on the continent. The conditions at such a time are always favorable to the development of mystical systems. The system of this kind especially deserving of mention is that of Immanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). He was a Swedish scientist who, becoming interested in religion, gave up his scientific pursuits, went to London and worked out his system which is found in the *Arcana Cœlestia*.

The French Revolution

The eighteenth century closes on the continent with one of the greatest convulsions in history. Many causes had led up to it. Among these are the long-continued abuse of the peasants with a resulting condition of wretchedness; the shameless and heartless corruption of the clergy and nobility; the general diffusion of the materialistic philosophy of the eighteenth century.

In the general spirit of destruction that reigned it looked as if for once the continuity of history had been broken. But a closer examination shows that it is simply the law of cause and effect working itself out. If men will sow to the wind they must expect to reap the whirlwind. Thus, says **Mr. Tylor**, in his *Primitive Culture:* "The stream of civilization winds and turns upon itself. What seems the bright onward course of

one age may in the next spin round in a whirling eddy or spread into a dull and pestilential swamp."

B. Church Development in England

A. POLITICAL OUTLINE

The reign of the Stuarts coincides with one of the most stirring periods in English history. It extends from 1603 to 1714. It began with James I. and ended with Queen Anne. It was a stormy reign. The French minister Sully called James I. the "wisest fool in Christendom." He was tyrannical towards both Protestants and Romanists, and was an especial disappointment to the former. Then ensued the period of the Civil War. Charles I. was beheaded in 1649, and the period of the Commonwealth lasted until 1660. Then came the Restoration of Charles II., 1660 to 1685. With James II. occurred the great Revolution which resulted in seating William and Mary on the throne. The severe conflicts of the period brought many great men into prominence. Conspicuous among these were Oliver Cromwell and John Milton. Among the leading causes of the strife was the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which the Stuarts adopted. This doctrine clashed with the advanced and sturdy spirit of English liberty. The result was the triumph of liberty. "But," says Macaulay, "it is the nature of the devil of tyranny to tear and rend the body which it leaves."

B. RELIGIOUS OUTLINE

In the Reformation period England contended first of all with Romanism. Then there arose differences in Protestantism itself, which developed at last into

the two great parties of Anglicanism and Puritanism—although at first Puritanism was a party within Anglicanism. Puritanism divided and subdivided. Later on another difference arose within Anglicanism leading to separation, and the outcome is the great Methodist movement.

Science and Philosophy

On account of its bearing on religious development the student's attention must be directed to the progress of science and philosophy. The new age expressed itself in Francis Bacon (1516 - 1626); Thomas Hobbes (1588-1676); John Locke (1632-1704); and Bishop Berkeley (1684-1753).

The Growth of Religious Toleration

Anglicanism triumphed over Puritanism and all other nonconforming bodies. But this did not by any means indicate the extinction of those bodies. Their existence had continually to be taken into account. After long and bitter persecution and struggle toleration became possible and then prevailed.

a. The Nonconformists

The leading nonconformist bodies were:

1. The Presbyterians

The doctrines of the Presbyterians were set forth in the Westminster Confession, which embodied the main points of Calvinism without its harsher supralapsarian features. The Presbyterians represented the severest type of Puritanism.

2. The Independents

The great men among the Independents were John Robinson, who flourished about 1610, and Henry Jacob, about 1616. In their polity the Independents held that each congregation is a law unto itself. Theologically they were moderate Calvinists.

3. The Baptists

The Baptists became embroiled in the free-will controversies of the age. Thus there arose the Particular Baptists, who were Calvinistic, and the General Baptists, who were Arminian. The Particular Baptists have continued to the present day. The General Baptists have pretty completely gone over to Socinianism. In polity the Baptists were like the Independents.

4. The Quakers

They were founded by George Fox (1624-1691). The central point in Quaker theology is that: "The Divine Being speaks directly to the heart of every man." This voice is called the Seed, Grace, Light of Christ, Word of God, Christ within. The Spirit guides in all things. All ranks of birth, sex, fortune, or education are reduced to a spiritual level. There is no distinction between the minister and the congregation. This spiritual democracy made the Quakers political democrats. Because some made a distinction between *you* and *thee* they addressed all as *thee*. Because some would bow to the great and scorn the poor they bowed to none. Because the hat was doffed to those in high places the Quaker doffed his hat to no one—not even the king.*

*See **Sharpless:** *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania.* Vol. I.

b. The Latitudinarians

We have seen Anglicanism prevail over Puritanism. Yet we have seen it obliged to become tolerant towards nonconformists. We are now to see a division take place within its own communion. The stem is to continue as the high church. The branch is to develop as Latitudinarianism.

If we look for the marks of Latitudinarianism we shall find that it is individualistic; indifferent to the historical claims of the church; impatient of church discipline; indefinite in belief; indifferent to system; opposed to high church sacerdotalism on one hand, and to mysticism as seen especially among the Baptists and Quakers on the other hand. "Enlightenment, refinement, decorousness of life, become the tests of religious influence rather than faith, love, and self-sacrifice. Christianity was recommended, not because it was true but because it was the religion of the civilized world." Politically the Latitudinarians affiliated with the Whigs. They had many great men, such as Cudworth (1617-1688); Tillotson (1630-1694); Chillingworth (1602-1644).

Among the results of Latitudinarianism we find that it acted as an antidote to fanaticism; asserted the reasonableness of Christianity; taught that virtue brings its own reward; denied the reality of special spiritual illumination; vindicated the logical foundations of Christianity against deism and unitarianism.*

c. Deism

Deism arose in England, and spread thence to France and Germany. It stands at the opposite

* See **Wakeman**, pp. 426-428.

extreme from pantheism. Pantheism is the absolute immanence of God, while deism is the absolute transcendence of God. The deist then admitted the existence of God, but denied His presence in the world and His continual care for it.

Deism claims a long list of great men, among whom are Lord Herbert (1581-1648); Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679); Charles Blount (1654-1693); Anthony Collins (1676-1729); David Hume (1711-1777); Thomas Paine (1737-1809); Edward Gibbon (1737-1794).

There were many able replies to deism, and among the foremost of these were certain of the Latitudinarians. Thus the contest was largely intellectual. "Enthusiasm," as emotional Christianity was called, was denounced, and everywhere the tendency was towards a cold rationalism to take the place of religious zeal.

d. The Rise of Methodism

Even our hasty review of Latitudinarianism and deism and their influence makes it easy for us to see what must have been the deplorable condition of Christianity at the opening of the eighteenth century. Either the evangelical spirit of Christianity must be revived or Christianity itself must perish. But it was not to perish. Rather there was to be a mighty and far-reaching evangelical revival.

God raised up at the appointed moment efficient leaders in John Wesley (1703-1791) and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield (1714-1770).

John Wesley was the son of an Episcopal rector at Epworth. His mother was a woman of unusual energy and piety, and her influence over her son was very marked. At Oxford he became the leader of a group

of young men who by their obedience to the rules of the university were nicknamed "Methodists." They regularly read such devotional works as **Thomas à Kempis'** *Imitation of Christ*, **Law's** *Serious Call*, and **Taylor's** *Holy Living and Dying*. The organization took the name of the Holy Club. In 1735 the two Wesleys went as missionaries to Georgia. On the way John Wesley met a number of Moravians, among whom was Spangenberg. This resulted in Wesley's conversion to the Moravian views, which event became the turning-point in his religious life. There were two leading characteristics of Wesley's theology. The first was pietism. "Wesley's idea was precisely that of Spener and Zinzendorf" (**Hurst**: *H. C. C.*, p. 349).

This pietism led to the doctrine of the new birth and Christian perfection.

The second was Arminianism. This was the great doctrine of the Methodist movement.

Whitefield came under the influence of the French Protestants in London. He accepted the doctrine of final perseverance and irresistible grace. As this could not be harmonized with Arminianism, a division took place into Calvinistic and Arminian Methodism. The growth of Arminian Methodism has been phenomenal.

5. *The Evangelicals*

The religious zeal of the Methodists went everywhere and quickened the spiritual life of all denominations of Christians—the Anglicans among the rest. Without yielding the Anglican ecclesiastical position, a school of evangelical pietists arose, drawing their inspiration from the Calvinistic Methodists. They were known as the evangelicals.

C. The Development of Christianity in America

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A. RELIGIOUS BEGINNINGS

Ideas that had been for ages in process of differentiation and development in the old world were in their several phases to reach maturity in the new world. What had been gained in the struggle for political and religious freedom was to be preserved and increased, but free churches in a free state were to be realized only far in the future, and after severe persecution, suffering and struggle.

America was discovered in the fulness of time. It is easy for us to see that if the discovery had been made a century earlier the form of Christianity introduced would have been of the type represented by Alexander VI. and his monstrous son, Caesar Borgia.

As it was, Romanism was the first form of religion introduced into America. But it was the earlier and better type of Jesuitism. Jesuitism at its best was bad enough, but it was an improvement on the Romanism of the fifteenth century.

The extension of religion was one of the chief motives that prompted the early voyages of discovery. Columbus distinctly mentions this motive along with the desire for wealth and the love of adventure. And the organic relations of church and state which existed all over Europe made it certain that religion would have a leading place in every settlement. The form would be determined by the religion of the mother country. For instance, the Dutch settlements would be Calvinistic, the Spanish and French settlements would be Romanist, the English settlements would be Episcopalian and nonconformist. Thus we can see that in the new world there would be a greater variety of forms of religion than had obtained in the old. We can also see that the new environment, resulting from the arduous task of turning a vast wilderness full of savage tribes into a seat of civilization, would give each form a better opportunity for unmolested development.

The three nations that were to make permanent settlements in America were Spain, France, and England.

Spain

The Spanish settlements were made chiefly in the south. And Spain's permanent influence has been confined to South America, Mexico, and the southwestern portions of North America. The Spanish occupation has been fitly described as "a story of attempted co-operation in the common service of God

and Mammon and Moloch—of endeavors after concord between Christ and Belial" (**Bacon**: *Hist. of Ch. in Am.*).

The same Spain that we see pursuing its course of narrowness, tyranny and cruelty on the continent of Europe operates also in America. And the violated laws of humanity, commerce and Christianity have worked themselves out with terrible relentlessness.

France

The permanent French settlements were confined mainly to the northeastern portion of North America. The center was fixed by Champlain in 1608 at Quebec. The motives of the French were purer than those of the Spanish, and their plans were grandly conceived. Their explorer, La Salle, established ports from the Gulf of St. Lawerence through the center of the continent to the Gulf of Mexico, and their memorials remain in many of the names of towns and states.

England

But neither Spain nor France was to have permanent possession of the best portion of the new world. That was to belong to England and the English race. It was to consist of the vast central tract extending from Florida to Nova Scotia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The antecedents of American church history are to be found back in continental and English history. On the continent we have seen events leading to the formation of the Augsburg Confession in 1530, and the opposing decrees of the Council of Trent, thus dividing Christendom into two hostile parties. We have

also seen Protestantism divided into Lutherans and Zwinglians and Calvinists. Each party had much of truth, but also much of error, and so in the very nature of the case there could be no permanent peace.

In England, as we have noted, the Reformation, while having much in common with the continent, ran a very different course and yielded widely different results. Anglicanism prevailed, but Romanism maintained a strong organization; the Puritans arose, leading to a modified Anglican party, and to several forms of dissent, such as the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers.

All of these variations, in many cases still farther differentiated, were to come across the sea, and survive according to their fitness. Their fitness was to be determined through conflict. They came with the settlements that were established along the Atlantic seaboard. Their home governments were usually so much occupied with their own affairs that they could render but little assistance to their kindred in the new world. They had not even learned well the meaning of toleration, to say nothing of liberty, and they were as narrow and as intent on bringing their neighbors of different views to their own tenets as circumstances would permit.

At first thought it seems to be deplorable that these differences and conflicts should exist in the new world. Yet it is only truth divided into many sections seeking to get free and combine into a harmonious union. "For," says Dr. Bacon, "fifteen centuries of church history have not been wasted if thereby the Christian people have learned that the pursuit of Christian unity through administrative, or corporate, or diplomatic union is following the wrong road, and that the one

Holy Catholic Church is not the *corporation* of the saints, but their *communion.*"

Over all these conflicting views the general English spirit—sufficiently divided within itself—was to prevail, and at last the inexorable logic of English history was to work itself out into free churches in a free state. This great principle assured to each sect a fair field but no favor. The one that had the most of truth was to show it in fruits, and in the end would have most of prosperity. "The history reads like a fulfillment of the apocalyptic imagery of a rock hewn from the mountain without hands moving on to fill the whole earth."

Settlements

The principal settlements along the Atlantic seaboard were:

a. Jamestown

The English established the first successful colony at Jamestown in 1607. It was composed of Anglican Puritans.

b. Plymouth

This colony was founded in 1620 by English Independents, whom persecution had driven first to Holland, but who, desiring wider freedom, sought it beyond the sea.

c. Salem

This town was founded in 1628 by eight hundred English Puritans. Among these were John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Roger Williams. John Winthrop was the leader. Defection led Hooker, in 1636,

to move farther inland and found Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. This was the beginning of the Connecticut colony.

d. Maryland

In 1634 the English colony of Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore. Although Lord Baltimore had become a Romanist, and the majority of the colonists were Romanists, the colony was liberal, and other forms of faith were admitted

e. New York

In 1615 the Dutch settled Manhattan Island and established posts along the Hudson River, which had been discovered in 1609. They were Calvinists. They were gradually driven out by the English, and their town, New Amsterdam, became New York.

f. Rhode Island

In 1636 Roger Williams was driven out of the Massachusetts theocracy, and founded the town of Providence and the colony of Rhode Island.

It was in the nature of things that a man of Williams' nature should, after breaking with the theocracy, affiliate with the Baptists, who had anticipated him in his doctrine of soul liberty. But he was too much of a free lance to remain long with the Baptists, and he spent his last years as an outsider.

Williams founded the first Baptist church in Rhode Island in 1639. The second Baptist church was founded by John Clark at Newport. From such beginnings the Baptists made their way in the face of steady opposition. The American principle of non-interference of the state with religion and the legal equality

of all religions was much aided by environment. "But," says **Dr. Bacon**, "so far as this work was a work of intelligent conviction and religious faith, the chief honor of it must be given to the Baptists. Other sects, notably the Presbyterians, had been energetic and efficient in demanding their own liberties; the Friends and the Baptists agreed in demanding liberty of conscience and worship, and equality before the law, for all alike. But the active labor in this cause was mainly done by the Baptists. It is to their consistency and constancy in the warfare against the privileges of the powerful 'Standing Orders' of New England, and of the moribund establishments of the south, that we are chiefly indebted for the final triumph, in this country, of that principle of the separation of church from state, which is one of the largest contributions of the new world to civilization and to the church universal" (*Hist. of Am. Christianity*, pp. 221-222).

Brown University was founded by the Baptists in 1765. Many distinguished men are numbered among her alumni.

g. Pennsylvania

This colony was established in 1681 by the society of Friends led by William Penn. The constitution of the colony made all forms of faith equal before the law. It was the most liberal of all.

It is not to be forgotten that most of the colonists were highly cultivated and religious. They felt the need of education for their children because they were educated, and they were zealous for church extension because Christianity is essentially missionary. The

result was that, starting with all that Europe had gained, they took it as a basis and pushed on to further developments.

We accordingly have institutions of learning founded as follows: Harvard, 1636; Yale, 1700; Princeton, 1746; Columbia, 1746; Brown, 1765; Dartmouth, 1769; Rutgers, 1770. These simple facts indicate the intellectual activity of the northern colonies, and especially of New England.

The leading confessions of faith were: The Cambridge Platform (1647) for Massachusetts; and the Saybrook Platform (1708) for Connecticut. They were substantially in agreement with the Westminster Confession. The government was a theocracy which made no pretensions to universal toleration.

The presence of Arminian influences led Jonathan Edwards to attempt a restatement and readjustment of Calvinism. Edwards had been an earnest student of Locke, and all influences combining in him led to considerable variations in the Calvinistic system. He thus became the founder of New England Theology.

B. THE GREAT AWAKENING

The leading spirits in the Great Awakening were Jonathan Edwards, Whitefield, and the Tennents. In one hundred years there had been remarkable progress all along the Atlantic seaboard. The people had begun to be comfortable, the great religious denominations that were to flourish in the new country were already established, and the weakness and strength of each form of polity was beginning to show itself. Arminianism was exerting a large influence, and the tendency of the preaching was to address the intellect rather than the heart. In Connecticut and Massachu-

setts only church members could vote and hold office, and the test of church membership had been evidences of regeneration. This was a hardship to many excellent people, and to avoid it the Half-way Covenant, by which those who had been baptized in infancy could have their children baptized on assent to the Covenant, was used in many places. Thus in many ways, things were drifting away from the deeply and truly spiritual to the coldly intellectual.

And so the need was felt for a great and searching revival. It began with Edwards at Northampton in 1734, and spread over New England. It also began in New Jersey about the same time, and was carried on under the leadership of the Tennents. In 1740 Whitefield traveled from the southern, through the middle, to the eastern, colonies stirring the people with his eloquence. With Edwards the emotions were properly controlled, with Whitefield they frequently passed all boundaries, and with the Tennents they ran riot. Gilbert Tennent's sermon on "The Unconverted Ministry" led to a division of sentiment. The Presbyterians had little enthusiasm, and the Episcopalians were aroused to resentment. In a letter of 1743, quoted by **Dr. McConnell** in *The American Episcopal Church*, p. 142, occurs this passage: "After him [Whitefield] came one Tennent, a monster! impudent and noisy, and told them that they were damn'd, damn'd, damn'd; this charmed them, and in the most dreadful winter I ever saw, people wallowed in the snow night and day for the benefit of his beastly brayings, and many ended their lives under these fatigues."

Opinions will differ very widely as to such movements as the Great Awakening, and on the subject of religious revivals in general. But perhaps no one has

made so well balanced a statement of the case as **Jonathan Edwards** in his *Thoughts on Revivals*, Part I, Sec. 3, where he says: "A great deal of noise and tumult, confusion and uproar, darkness mixed with light, and evil with good, is always to be expected in the beginning of something very glorious in the state of things in human society or the church of God. After nature has long been shut up in a cold, dead state, when the sun returns in the spring, there is, together with the increase of the light and heat of the sun, very tempestuous weather before all is settled calm, and serene, and all nature rejoices in its bloom and beauty."

The Great Awakening was a wave of pietism which "terminated the Puritan and inaugurated the pietist or Methodist age of American church history."

C. THE GERMANS IN AMERICA

Pietism, as we have seen, in Germany lived on in Zinzendorf and resulted in the establishment of the Moravians at Herrnhut. But this great and exemplary Christian man sought personally to spread a knowledge of the Gospel in America. He arrived at Philadelphia in 1741, and spent Christmas at Bethlehem in the Lehigh Valley. He saw the distracted condition of the Germans representing the different sects, and would gladly have become their shepherd had it been possible for the sectarian spirit to be quieted. This, however, was not to be thought of, and the Lutherans immediately sent Henry Melchior Mühlenberg to look after the Lutherans. Mühlenberg was a man of ability and genuine piety, but rigid in his doctrines. As Zinzendorf was a man of peace, he yielded

all that he had gained, and Moravians and Lutherans went their separate ways.

The Reformed, being Calvinistic, were unable to unite with the Lutherans, or Moravians, and through the aid of Holland they followed the lead of Michael Schlatter, who instituted the synod of the Reformed Church in 1747.

Establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1766)

This great organization was established very late in the colonial period. But its progress has been unprecedented. It began in New York in the house of Philip Embury. Its first church was a sail loft. The work spread to Philadelphia, and at last fixed its headquarters at Baltimore under the leadership of Francis Asbury, who came from England in 1771, and who traveled over the colonies with tireless energy. The Methodists grew steadily during the Revolution, at the end of which they numbered seventy itinerant preachers and twelve thousand members.*

*See **Buckley**: *Methodism. 2 vols.*

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME

(1789–1901)

LITERATURE

Seignobos: *Political History of Contemporary Europe.* 2 vols. This is the latest and in many respects the best work on the subject. Its chief characteristic is that it is "an explanatory history." It begins at 1814.

Fyffe: *History of Modern Europe.* 3 vols. Also abridged into one volume.

Müller: *Political History of Recent Times.*

Murdock: *The Reconstruction of Europe.*

Carr: *The Development of Modern Religious Thought—Especially in Germany.*

Banks: *The Tendencies of Modern Thought.*

Nippold: *The Papacy in the XIXth Century.* The most important recent contribution to the subject.

Taylor: *Italy and the Italians.*

Lorimer: *Christianity in the Nineteenth Century.*

Stephens: *The French Revolution.* Gives the facts.

Mathews: *The French Revolution.* Interprets.

Von Holst: *The French Revolution.*

Sloane: *The French Revolution and Religious Reform.*

Schaff: *Church and State.*

Andrews: *History of the United States.* 2 vols.

Carroll: *The Religious Forces of the United States.*

Thompson: *A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States.*

Walker: *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States.*

Dorchester: *Christianity in the United States.*

Eminent Specialists: *The Progress of the Century.* Very important.

Newman: *A Century of Baptist Achievement.*

Adeney: *A Century's Progress in Religious Life and Thought.*

A. Church Development on the Continent

The nineteenth century opens in the midst of the period of the French Revolution. France has already been terribly punished for her sins, and is still to suffer further retribution before she can return to something like general sanity. The influence of the great French Revolution and of the succeeding revolutions of 1830 and 1848 upon general European politics and society is to be far-reaching and in the main wholesome. The Napoleonic armies broke up the existing order or disorder in the leading European states. The phantom Holy Roman Empire went to pieces under his blows in 1806. The great crowd of petty states and principalities were destroyed forever. Thus without any intention of Napoleon's, the way was opened leading to complete nationalization within natural geographical and racial boundaries. The results came in the flow of events which has given us at the close of our century a united kingdom of Italy, a united German empire, and a united republic of France.

The general prosperity of England has surpassed that of all preceding centuries.

The United States of America has entered the list of

leading states in the world, and now at the opening of the new century has become one of the controlling forces in all the great world movements.

The history of the achievements of the nineteenth century in science pure and applied, and in the development of means for promoting human happiness, reads like a romance. But with all these achievements, which were only possible because of the toils of preceding centuries, new problems have arisen which will tax the abilities of men to their utmost reach.

A. THE PAPACY

Religion had been abolished in the frenzy of the French Revolution. But Napoleon was too sagacious an observer of human nature not to see the value of religion as a moral force in secular government. Negotiations were accordingly begun between Pope Pius VII. and the emperor. The pope was restored, but when he began to stand for his own opinions a conflict ensued which resulted in the pope's capture and imprisonment. The imprisonment lasted until Napoleon's overthrow. After this Europe was able to stop and take her bearings.

It was natural that the immediate effect of the revolution should be a reaction against liberalism and progress. After twenty-five years of tossing to and fro men everywhere longed for stability. Even the liberals had been sated and progress had come to be almost identical with anarchy and irreligion.

The papacy was quick to detect the state of opinion and to take advantage of it. By the common and willing consent of all the European powers Pius VII. was restored to his dominions, and the era of reaction set in. The pope's first move was to re-establish the

Jesuits, one of whose rules was, as we have learned, absolute obedience to the pope. This was done in the bull of 1814 — *Solicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* — in response, as he said, to the almost united will of Christendom. "The scattered stones of the temple and the destruction of discipline, caused by the late calamities and misfortunes, demanded his consent to such unanimous and right wishes. He would become a partaker of grievous sin towards God, if in the midst of the heavy storms which were raging round the vessel of Peter he turned away the strong and experienced rowers who offered themselves to break through the raging billows which every moment threatened inevitable ruin. Therefore . . . by his present irrevocable decree he commands that the orders before given touching Russia and both Sicilies should from this moment be extended to all parts of the states of the church as well as to all other states and dominions. This decree shall remain for all time unchangeable and inviolable" (**Nippold**, pp. 31-32).

This infallible decree expressly repudiates the infallible decree of Clement XIV. (1771), which forbade the restoration of the Jesuits forever.

Pius VII. died in 1823. His successor was Leo XII. In his encyclical, May 5, 1824, he condemned all religious freedom, and all Bible societies, which were making of the Bible the gospel of the devil. In his brief to the clergy of Poitiers (1826), he says: "Every one who separates himself from the Roman Catholic Church, however otherwise blameless his manner of life, has on account of this one crime, because he is excluded from the unity of Christ, no part in the eternal life; God's wrath hangs over him."

Leo XII. died in 1829, and was succeeded by Pius

VIII., whose reign of one year was in line with those of his predecessors. He was succeeded in 1831 by Gregory XVI. His position is set forth in his encyclical, which appeared in 1832. It is a declaration of war on "the freedom of science and learning, in politics as well as in the church."

Gregory was succeeded in 1846 by Pius IX. His accession coincides with one of the most stirring periods of European politics. Pius started out as a liberal pope, to the great joy of all lovers of freedom. Most of the states were demanding constitutions—the papal states among the rest. The pressure upon the pope was so strong that he was obliged to grant a constitution, and to see the Jesuits expelled. He released political prisoners who had been arrested by his predecessors, and took important steps towards public improvements and lay management. It looked as if Italy might be reunited under a liberal pope.

But the leaders of the democratic movement were determined that the government should not be managed by cardinals. The pope would not engage in an Austrian war. The result was a popular uprising, in which Rossi, the pope's minister, was assassinated, and the pope himself was obliged to flee.

After these experiences it turned out that the pope's liberality had only been political—never ecclesiastical. The Jesuits regained their ascendency in his counsels, and he dropped back into the policy inaugurated by Pius VII. and carried it out with a high hand.

In 1854, at a meeting of ecclesiastics at Rome, he decreed the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary in the bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*. "By virtue of the authority of Jesus Christ, that of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of his own; that the doctrine which main-

tains that Mary in the first moment of her conception was by special grace and special privilege of God preserved from all stain of hereditary sin, had been revealed by God, and was therefore to be believed firmly and constantly by all the faithful."

In 1864 he issued an encyclical and Syllabus of Errors. There were eighty of these errors. In addition to naturalism, pantheism, and rationalism, civil marriage, secular education, Bible societies, and freedom of conscience are condemned.

He also revived the question of the infallibility of the pope, and this led to the Œcumenical Council of 1869-70. The preparations for this council were most carefully made. Every detail that could in the least aid in securing the end in view was arranged by the wily pontiff, and the council was in no sense deliberative, but affirmative. Some of the invitations to the council deserve notice.

1. The Eastern church was invited to send representatives, but with the understanding that they were to take no part in the proceedings "till they professed the Catholic faith whole and entire."

2. The Reformed churches were invited to send representatives who "should be referred to experienced men, and have their difficulties solved."

Ostensibly the purpose of the council was threefold: the faith, the church, missions. Really the purpose was the establishment of the dogma of papal infallibility. This dogma was skillfully placed under the rubric of the church—*De Ecclesia Christi*.

The debate upon the dogma was animated and sharp, and it lasted from December, 1869, to July, 1870. But opposition had been useless from the beginning. The dogma was voted with only two *non placets*. But

fifty-five members of the council remained away from the final session, having formally declared their opposition to the dogma. The day following the adoption of the dogma of papal infallibility France declared war against Germany.

The fifty-five who remained away became the nucleus of a revolt. The leader was Ignatius von Döllinger, a theologian and historian of the first rank. A meeting was held during the same summer at Nuremberg. The Vatican Council was declared not œcumenical. The dogma of papal infallibility was therefore not binding. At a later meeting in Munich the Old Catholic church was organized.*

Another result of the Vatican Council was the *Kulturkampf* or "fight for civilization." A party had grown up among the Romanists known as the Ultramontanists. Its principle was obedience to the pope rather than the government. The Old Catholics were deposed by Rome. But they received their share of the state appropriations. This lessened the amount received by the Romanists. Reduced appropriations led to an outbreak of the Ultramontanists. Bismarck was the leader on the side of the German government, and Windhorst was the leader of the Ultramontanists. In 1873 the Falk laws, prepared by Falk—minister of public worship and instruction—were passed. These laws were radical. They secularized education entirely; put the state in control of ecclesiastical appointments; demanded that church officers should be educated in German universities; required civil

*See **Beyschlag**: "The Origin and Development of the Old Catholic Movement," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 481-526. Also **Theodorus**: *The New Reformation*, "The Old Catholic Movement."

marriage; set up a royal court for the final settlement of ecclesiastical questions; and demanded from all the clergy a pledge of obedience to the laws of the state.

The resistance of the Ultramontanes to these laws was most determined and persistent. It was in this conflict that Bismarck said: "We shall never go to Canossa again." But the fact remains that most of the laws have been repealed, and Romanism has won a victory.

This outline shows that the long reign of Pius IX. was full of momentous events.

In Leo XIII. a consummate diplomatist ascended the papal throne. He has been very generally described as "The Peace Pope." In order that we may understand the quality of this "peace" we must look at a few of the utterances of the pope who bears the title. When he was bishop of Perugia he called Protestantism "a pest, the most pestilential heresy, a stupid, fickle system, originating in arrogance and godlessness." In his second encyclical he made the church the sole guardian of society, called the Reformation "the insane war which since the sixteenth century had been waged by the innovators against the Catholic church." The Evangelical schools in Rome were referred to as "the impudence without parallel with which in Rome even under the eyes of the pope such schools were established, in which tender children were fed with abominable errors, and from which proceeded influences the most harmful and most injurious to manners."

All his earlier expressions show that he fell at once into the theological positions of Pius IX., emphasizing among the rest the restoration of the temporal power. But the greatest significance attaches to the

third encyclical in which he makes "the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas the foundation of all studies in schools and seminaries . . . a system which with an unsurpassed consistency preaches irreconcilable war against the modern world of ideas."

Then as we follow the subtle movements of this pope, and see that when he here and there yields a secondary matter it is only that he may gain a point of greater importance, and when we see him stirring up strife within nations and between nations with a view to partisan advantage; and see, too, his minions going to all the ends of civilization—as all this comes up before us, we are able to understand what kind of a "peace pope" Leo XIII. really is.*

Much as we may desire it to be otherwise, the study of the facts in the papacy in the nineteenth century forces us to admit that where the Jesuits have the power Rome never changes.

And we reluctantly admit the truth of Rector Schwab's statement in his introduction to **Nippold's** *Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*—"True: we need no longer fear bodily harm, and those who are anxious only to save their skin may set their minds at rest. But are there not other considerations that may appeal with equal force to an anxious solicitude? Is not the possibility of national decay something to care about? The danger from the church of Rome to-day is not the stake or torture; but it is the danger from insidious moral and spiritual forces threatening to stop a nation's progress, to corrupt a nation's ethical standard, to darken a nation's intellect. The greatest task which God has appointed to the religious forces of this country is to build up a government in city, state and

*See **McKim**: *Leo XIII. at the Bar of History.*

nation which shall be pure and just; and the papal system is the most determined enemy to the accomplishment of this task."

B. LUTHERANISM

We have observed the remarkable advance movement of the great continental states, and the no less remarkable reactionary movement in Romanism. We are now to note the progress and divisions of Lutheranism. It has advanced far beyond the standards of the Augsburg Confession. Progress once a fact is sure to approach, and often to pass, the danger line. The philosophical, literary, and theological activities of the eighteenth century pass right on into the nineteenth without a break, with farther variations and closer applications. The Protestant world is just as little satisfied as it has ever been, and the demand is for further elimination of error, and further development of truth.

Philosophy

We have noted philosophical questions raised by Descartes and Locke, and the attempts at solution resulting in the gross materialism of the French sentimentalists, and the development of idealism through Leibnitz and Kant, to the subjective idealism of Fichte. In Germany the matter could not rest where Fichte left it.

Schelling (1775-1854) represents a reaction against individualism, and a return to universalism. The differences in things are only quantitative, and even these differences disappear in the indifference of the absolute. The absolute is the whole of which the parts are but differentiations. It is not a mere aggre-

gate, but a fundamental unity. To Schelling the universe is a living being manifesting itself in mind and physical nature. He is an objective idealist.

The way is now prepared for Hegel (1775-1831), whose thesis is that the absolute is "not substance, but *subject.*" This meant that the absolute is a self-differentiating principle, realizing itself in a world of difference which is no mere appearance, but its own essential manifestation, and again—what is the counterpart or complementary truth to this—that in the world there are "degrees of reality," and that "mind is higher in degree than nature."

This vast and all-comprehensive unitary system proceeds by threefold divisions, the most general of which are: "The Science of Logic; the Philosophy of Nature; the Philosophy of Spirit—ending in the absolute philosophy—a sphere of spheres self-enclosed."

The school of Hegel was soon divided into a right wing claiming to be theistic,* and a left wing leading to pantheism.

Hegelianism has had a tremendous influence on theology. To-day the field is divided between Neo-Kantianism and Neo-Hegelianism with just at present a decided preference for Neo-Kantianism. Each school has great strength and great weakness. The philosopher who can utilize them both, avoiding the agnosticism of the one and the pantheism of the other, and give the world a new concept, may yet appear.

Philosophical pessimism as taught by Schopenhauer and Hartmann is one of the strange phenomena of the present time. The ideas are clearly set forth by **Sully**: *Pessimism*, and more popularly by **Saltus**: *The Philosophy of Disenchantment.*

*See **Stirling:** *The Secret of Hegel.* 2 vols.

The latest exponent of pessimism is Nietzsche, who at present has a considerable following. But all experience seems to teach that a philosophy of despair and selfishness cannot long be seriously entertained by the men and women who are doing the world's hard work. It can possibly serve some purpose in toning down the visionary and keeping him in sight of the stern facts of life.

The reader will find the best review of the philosophy of the last century from the Hegelian point of view in **Caird**: "Philosophy," in *The Progress of the Century*, pp. 145-170.

Theology

The state of theology was fully as bad as that of philosophy, and there was just as little possibility that it could resist important innovations. These innovations were to be the outcome of past history. The various lines of personal influence are to converge in an epoch-maker—an exact contemporary of Hegel. We are thus led to notice:

a. Schleiermacher

In his composition are to unite the influences of Plato, Spinoza, Herder, Jacobi, and the Moravians, to bring out a deeply religious nature. He could not accept any of the current systems. Something was to be given up, but essentials were to be saved. To him there was a difference between ethics and religion—but rationalism identified them. Moreover Christian experience with him was basal and it did not need to be bolstered up by propositions that were foreign to it. But orthodoxy was intruding at this point. To him accordingly the fundamental principle of dogmatic

theology became: The feeling of absolute dependence upon God. The business of theology is to express this feeling. Sin is the supremacy of the flesh over the spirit. Christ came to reverse this order. He is the only miracle. His followers become co-workers with Him. Through Him will come about the complete restoration of all things.

Schleiermacher practically yielded up the idea of the personality of God—and his system is very perceptibly pantheistic. "It is," says Dr. Fisher, "a system such that one is at a loss whether to call it Christianity leavened with pantheism or pantheism leavened with Christianity."*

b. The Hegelian School

Hegel, as we have seen, was the philosopher of absolute idealism. The knowledge of the absolute is the essence of religion. In his system intellect has the fundamental place just as feeling is fundamental with Schleiermacher.

Among the great men who carried the Hegelian philosophy into theology we should mention:

1. Strauss

Hegel, without intending to oppose Christianity, had made nothing of the historical Christ, but consistently with his idealism the ideal Christ was all in all. The step then was short to the position of Strauss that Christ was but an idea. His life of Christ appeared in 1835, in which he developed the mythical theory as an explanation of the Gospel narratives. The work created consternation in Germany—and called out

*See **H. C. D.**, pp. 502-511, for excellent summary of his theological system.

numerous replies—notably that of Neander in his life of Jesus. His positions were soon completely shattered, and Strauss died a deeply disappointed man.*

2. Biblical Criticism

We have seen that the pietists urged that the Scriptures could not be understood by intellectual processes, and how they sought to keep them from critical examination. But the new developments of literary criticism were destined to become universal, and the Scriptures were to come in with the rest. The result has been a violent shaking of the older theories of inspiration.

The great master in New Testament criticism was Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860). He was a consistent disciple of Hegel, proceeding according to the formula: "Thesis, antithesis, synthesis." Peter and Paul engaged in a conflict. Each of them founded a school. Naturally the situation gave rise to numerous writings, partisan or conciliatory. The purpose of the Book of the Acts was to harmonize the two factions. Thus the principle of design is introduced. The same principle is also applied to the Gospels.

Out of this conflict arose the church based on Corinthians, Romans and Galatians, which are genuine Pauline Epistles.

In the Old Testament Reuss, Wellhausen, Kuenen and others followed a similar course.

Writers in a pietistic tone, yet seeking to approach the subject in a scientific spirit, were Ewald and

*See **Krüger**: "David Frederick Strauss," pp. 514-535, *Am. Jour. Theol.*, Vol. IV. **Christlieb**: *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*. A masterly review of this entire period. **Ulrici**: *David Frederick Strauss*. A review from the view-point of philosophy.

Neander. Still more conservative were Delitzsch, Lange, Meyer, and Olshausen. The old views survived in the school of Hengstenberg.

*c. The Mediating School**

The origin of the Mediating School was due very largely to Schleiermacher. It consists of a group of distinguished men so numerous and so divergent in views that it is difficult to think of them as a school. Among them are Neander the historian; Tholuck and Bleek, the exegetes; Nitzsch, Julius Müller, Rothe, Dorner, and perhaps Ritschl, theologians. They were not eclectics "making a patchwork out of conflicting systems." They held tenaciously to the supernatural revelation, and the faith of the Gospels, which they thought they could do in perfect consistency with the spirit of scientific investigation. To them divergence in doctrine is no reason for dissolving fellowship.

They maintain: The personality of God; justification by faith alone and the consequent Christian life issuing in good works; the divinity of Christ; the inspiration, but not the inerrancy, of the Scriptures; the miracles of Scripture, including the resurrection of Jesus.

d. Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889)

LITERATURE

Otto Ritschl: *Albrecht Ritschl's Leben.*

Orr: *The Ritschlian Theology.* In this book will be found a complete bibliography of Ritschlianism. Unfavorable.

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*See **Fisher**: *History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 512-530. Best outline.

Garvie: *The Ritschlian Theology*. Sympathetic.
Swing: *The Theology of Ritschl*. Favorable.

The origin of Ritschlianism is found:

1. In his intellectual forerunners—Kant, Schleiermacher, and Baur to whose school he belonged originally.

2. In the intellectual and spiritual needs of his age. Metaphysical theology had run its course and ended in barrenness and spiritual deadness. Reason had fallen into disrepute, and positive science had the field. But science was not able to furnish an adequate basis for religious certainty which our very constitution demands. The cry of the age was, "Back to Kant."

Ritschl offered this fundamental certainty "by cutting off all transcendental considerations, and by professing to derive everything from historical revelation in Christ by its practical and ethical conception of the kingdom of God; by claiming that it was the true Lutheranism; by its almost mystical enthusiasm; by its promise of a solution of the world-problem."

The followers of Ritschl differ very widely among themselves. Many of them—Kaftan, for example—give up, at least for the present, any ultimate explanation of things, and hardly escape agnosticism.

The school as represented by Harnack, Kaftan, and Herrmann is at the front in Germany. Its influence is growing in America, and is not unknown in England.

Applied Christianity

Although the mind of Germany was absorbed mainly with fundamental speculative problems, the immediate practical interests of men and women were

not entirely overlooked. There were two movements having this especially in view:

1. The Deaconesses. Founded by Fleidner; object, to train young women to care for widows and children, sick and poor.

2. The Inner Mission. Founded by Wichern (1783); object, to care for the bodies of men and preach the Gospel to those who neglect the church, and to reform church life.

C. THE UNION OF THE REFORMED AND LUTHERAN CHURCHES

From the beginning of the revolt in Germany and Switzerland there had been two more or less hostile parties among the reformers—the Reformed and the Lutheran. This unfortunate division had been very detrimental to interests that were mutual. We have seen that Luther and Zwingli were kept apart by their views of the Lord's Supper. But at last in September, 1817, Frederick William III. of Prussia, in view of the approach of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, which was to be celebrated October 31, 1817, made an appeal to the clergy in which he urged that union would give the celebration a new meaning. The effect of the appeal was magical in Prussia, and in other places the union became a reality. The two parties united in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The word "Evangelical" was substituted for the words "Reformed" and "Lutheran." The purpose of the union was not to destroy peculiarities of belief, but to promote mutual toleration, and to secure the proper administration of the Lord's

Supper. Thus there was left the largest liberty for both Lutherans and Reformed.

But in 1821 a new liturgy was introduced, and trouble began. The Romanist mass was suggested to the Reformed. It appeared fundamentally Calvinistic to the rigid Lutherans, who were led by Dr. Schiel of Breslau, and they were unjustly persecuted, and many of them emigrated to America. Those who remained at home perpetuate Lutheranism to our own days.

The power of the princes was afterwards considerably modified by synodal constitutions. "Since 1870 the petty jurisdictions have been necessarily centralized, and the drift of all this ecclesiastical procedure is to make the emperor the pope of Germany" (**Jennings**: *M. C. H.*, Vol. II, p. 222).

D. OTHER FORMS OF FAITH

Calvinism

The situation at Geneva has been vacillating. The movements have been pietistic, rationalistic, and reactionary. In 1817 the "Venerable Company" were accused of denying the divinity of Christ.

The situation in France has been similar.

In Holland there has been a schism which took place in 1839. It was occasioned by the rise of rationalism. Orthodoxy is led by Kuyper. The rationalistic side was led by Kuenen. There is also a third or mediating party led by Van Oosterzee.

The Waldensians

The Waldensians survived the storm of the Reformation, and are now the leading Protestant organization in Italy. They have a flourishing school and

theological seminary at Florence, under the direction of such men as Luzzi and Comba. Doctrinally they are Calvinistic.

E. ROMANTICISM

We have marked the rise and prevalence of rationalism and materialism in the eighteenth century. We have seen individualism go to the last extreme. It touched all phases of life—art, science, history and the church. Its exclusive utilitarianism had destroyed all high ideals, and reduced everything to the level of a dull and depressing prose. It was one of the fruits of the illumination. It could only be a question of time till outraged human nature would rebel against this unnatural thraldom.

The reaction coincides with the first half of the nineteenth century, and is known as romanticism. It was social in its nature, and was as much secular as religious, and its influence is seen in the development of both secular and religious ideas, also almost equally in Protestantism and Romanism. When this reaction came it was as thorough as rationalism had been—and took complete possession of the field. Almost everything that rationalism had discarded and covered with contempt romanticism put to the front and covered with honor. As in the fifteenth century we had a renaissance of classical antiquity so now in the nineteenth century we have a renaissance of mediævalism. The imagination is once more free. Ignoring the minute or offensive details in the individual and in life, it seeks the general impression that comes from humanity in the lump, and gives us the ideally perfect picture. In the preceding period

rationalism had scoffed, now it is the turn of romanticism to laugh and with more refinement to satirize.

This return to mediævalism naturally made romanticism congenial to Romanism but dangerous to Protestantism, since one of the achievements of the Reformation was escape from the fetters of mediævalism. And the results were seen in the era of good feeling that was ushered in. Protestants began to think that after all they had very much in common with Romanists, and for many of them the middle wall of partition was broken down and they went over. Among these were Frederick Schlegel (1772-1829), Lewis Tieck (1773-1853), and Werner.

But the movement at last went to its extreme. The pitcher goes to the well until it is broken. Now the pendulum swings back towards rationalism, and romanticism is destroyed by a great liberal movement in the midst of which we find ourselves still at the opening of the new century. But we have not gone back to the position of the earlier illumination. We have come to "the idea of corporate freedom as the most valuable expression of individual freedom."*

B. Church Development in England and Scotland.

The nineteenth century in England has been characterized by steady progress in all the great nonconformist bodies; by the great missionary revival led by William Carey; and by important divergences within the establishment—the most far-reaching of which is the Oxford Movement.

*See **Sohm**: *O. C. H.*, pp. 212-254, for a masterly and brilliant outline of romanticism, liberalism, and the outlook.

A. THE BROAD CHURCH

Here we have the spirit of Latitudinarianism revived under the leadership of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834). The purpose of the Broad church was to be so comprehensive as to take in all good men without insistence on specific points of doctrine—such as the historic episcopate. This doctrine was a matter of expediency rather than of necessity.

The great men were: Richard Whately (1787-1863); Thomas Arnold (1795-1842); F. D. Maurice (1805-1872); Charles Kingsley (1819-1875); A. P. Stanley (1815-1881); H. H. Milman (1791-1868); F. W. Robertson (1816-1853).

B. THE LOW CHURCH

It put the emphasis on the evangelical side of Christianity, rather than the theological and ecclesiastical. It paid little attention to the efficacy of the sacraments, or to the historic episcopate. It sought to bear fruit in the every-day lives of men. Its chief center was Cambridge. Its leading men were William Romaine (1714-1795); John Newton (1725-1807); Robert Cecil (1748-1810); Thomas Scott (1747-1821); William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and William Cowper, the poet (1731-1800).

C. THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

LITERATURE

Church: *The Oxford Movement.*

Hunt: *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century.* Claims to be simply a record of facts not a judgment. Valuable.

Thureau-Dangin: *Newman et le Movement d' Oxford.* Recent, from the Romanist point of view.

Wakeling: *The Oxford Movement.*

Abbott: *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman.* 2 vols.

Wakeman: *Hist. Ch. of England*, pp. 457-494.

Nippold: *The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century.* Chap. on the Oxford Movement.

The Oxford Movement was a general Anglican revival which sought a middle way between the Church of England and the Roman church. It turned out to be a violent reaction towards Rome, in which many of the leading Anglican divines and laymen went over to Romanism, and in which the High church took its rise. It is sometimes called the Anglo-Catholic revival, sometimes the Tractarian Movement. It was the great English theological movement of the nineteenth century.

The causes of this reaction are numerous. It will be remembered that the Reformation in England was not entirely revolutionary; that at the close Anglicanism and Romanism still had very much in common. The Oxford Movement, then, is an inheritance of the Romish ideas that survived the Reformation.

Another cause is the prevalence of romanticism, which had spread through England as well as the continent, and which found its best expression in the widely read romances of Sir Walter Scott.

Moreover, the principles of Latitudinarianism which lingered on in the Broad church were working under the fundamental doctrines of the historic episcopate, and other doctrines bearing directly on the lives of the communicants.

There were also political reasons unfavorable to

Anglicanism found in the Reform Bill of 1832. The whole drift of things seemed to the conservatives to be towards license and even anarchy.

The leaders of the movement were Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, Church, Newman, and Pusey. Impressed with urgent need of the instruction of the people, they began in 1833 to issue Tracts for the Times. They knew at the beginning exactly what they wanted to do. Starting from the Thirty-Nine Articles they proceeded to find what they looked for by a careful study of the Fathers and church history.

The result was a division within the movement. The promoters were immediately charged with heading towards Romanism. This was denied, but it was true nevertheless.

The crisis was precipitated by tract Number Ninety, written by Newman in 1841. The purpose of the tract was to prove that the Church of England was a branch of the true church, and that "the Thirty-Nine Articles may be harmonized with the Decrees of the Council of Trent."

But Newman was not permitted to interpret the Articles as he wished, and he was thus led to resign his parish at Oxford in 1843, and withdraw to private life at Littlemore.

In 1845 he began his celebrated essay on Doctrinal Development. Says he: "As I advanced my views so cleared that instead of speaking any more of the 'Roman Catholics' I boldly called them Catholics. Before I got to the end I resolved to be received, and the book remained in that state in which it was then—unpublished."

Newman was followed by Manning—and the number of secessions became startling. In 1852 Oxford lost

ninety-two members, sixty-three of whom were divines; Cambridge, forty-three, nineteen of whom were divines. In 1862 the number had increased to eight hundred and sixty-seven, two hundred and forty-three of whom were divines. It included almost exclusively persons of note—military men and nobles, members of Parliament and men in the professions. It became a fashion in the upper world. Cardinal Wiseman said that "it found most difficult entrance and the most sterile soil in the middle and industrial classes."

But about the time of the appearance of tract Number Ninety the opposition of the Anglican bishops became so strong that the publication of the tracts was discontinued. When at last Newman went over and others followed, the condemnation of Puseyism, as the movement now began to be called, became decided and emphatic. But Puseyism was destined to live on in the High church of our own times.

Pusey and Keble remained as the leaders in the war against Romanism, Low-churchism, and Nonconformity.

D. THE REVIVAL OF MISSIONS

LITERATURE

Ecumenical Missionary Conference: Reports. April and May, 1900. 2 vols. Very important.

Dennis: *Christian Missions and Social Progress.* 2 vols. Indispensable.

Pierson: *The Modern Mission Century.*

During the period of the Reformation the conflict was so strenuous that little strength was left for the extension of the kingdom beyond the boundaries of professing Christendom.

After the Reformation in England the Nonconformists were for a long time completely absorbed in maintaining an existence, and in perfecting their organizations. But as soon as this groundwork was done, the true and essential spirit of the Gospel asserted itself with irresistible power.

This spirit expressed itself in a humble shoemaker, who by persistent application in the midst of his daily toil made himself a scholar. This man was William Carey.

In the face of discouragements from older men who should have been his supporters, he formed the Baptist Missionary Society at Kettering in 1792. Carey and Thomas arrived at Calcutta in 1793; Marshman and Ward in 1799. The first convert, Krishna Pal, was baptized on December 28, 1800. This enterprise inaugurated by Carey was the beginning of the century of missions.

The London Missionary Society was established in 1795 by Dr. Bogue, a Congregationalist minister. It was undenominational, and began its work among the South Sea Islanders.

The Church Missionary Society was founded by the Episcopalians in 1799.

The Methodists' missionary work first took form in 1799. Active work began in 1811, in Western Africa.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1843

The immediate result of the Reformation in Scotland was the complete rejection of Romanism, and a recasting of the Church in polity and form of worship, after the Calvinistic model. But the permanent realization of this ideal was far in the future. Episcopacy would not abandon the field without a struggle. The polit-

ical situation and the desire for unity both in church and state came to its aid. Again and again it came in and reëstablished itself. In 1633 it introduced vestments, increased the number of bishops, and substituted the Book of Canons for the Book of Discipline. Then came a liturgy by command of the King to take the place of the Book of Common Order. Riots resulted. In 1638 a clause aimed at the bishops was put into the Covenant, and in the excitement the popular party came to be known as Covenanters.

The struggle continued until England and Scotland were united. The first parliament of Great Britain assembled in 1707. By a special Act, in addition to the twenty-five Articles of Union, the Church of Scotland was to be free, and the only form of government was to be Presbyterian. But this did not settle the difficulty. While the state church of Scotland was to be Presbyterian the Episcopalians still remained, and many Presbyterians had seceded from the Establishment, making numerous sects. Their chief grievance was the question of patronage. Patronage was "the right of patrons to force ministers on parishes whether the congregations objected to them or not." Patronage has a long history. In its beginnings it was not so objectionable. But to the Presbyterian Church it had always been extremely offensive.

The First Book of Discipline declared the right of the people to elect their own ministers. The Second Book of Discipline claimed at least the right of objecting. But gradually the "heritors" became strong enough to secure themselves in their former privileges.

At length, in 1834, a *Veto Act* was passed in the assembly, by what had come to be known as the Non-

intrusion party. According to this act: "It is a fundamental law of the church that no pastor shall be intruded on a congregation contrary to the will of the people." A test came very soon in the case of Mr. Young, who was presented by Lord Kinnoul, the patron, to the parish of *Auchterarder*. Mr. Young was rejected by the Presbytery. The patron appealed to the Court of Session, and was sustained. The Presbytery appealed to the House of Lords, but was not sustained. The Presbytery, however, remained firm. Other cases came up. The result was that the *Veto Act* had to be repealed, and patronage was fastened on the Established Church despite all protests. This yoke was too galling for leaders like Dr. Chalmers, and it led to the Disruption of 1843, and the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland, which at once sprang into prominence and has had a marvelous growth. Its standards remained precisely the same as those of the Establishment.

C. Church Development in America

The most righteous war is always appalling in its progress and direful in its immediate consequences. The exhaustion that comes from war cannot be overcome for generations, and every form of activity is paralyzed at its source. It is only long afterwards that the beneficial results begin to be clearly seen.

The war of the American Revolution was no exception to the rule. A distinct advance had been made in the evolution of humanity, but humanity was at once confronted with new and perplexing problems of reconstruction in both church and state. Human nature was still frail, and human faculties were still limited. And yet institutions were to be established

the like of which the world had not yet seen. The ideas of the Old World, good, bad and mixed—more often mixed—had crossed the Atlantic. There was to be a clashing and a sifting, and ideas were to take rank at the end of a long and painful process according to their fitness. Fortunately the weapons in the conflict for nearly a hundred years were to be mainly intellectual and spiritual rather than carnal. Then was to come the most terrible war in history, with its immediate evil consequences. But it was to result in universal freedom, and in the final establishment of the world's first great national free state.

A. THE REIGN OF SKEPTICISM

Among the bad influences that came in was deism of both the English and French types. It found a lodgment in the colleges of the country. Students took the names of noted deists and French materialists. For a time it looked as if the colleges had become the nurseries of infidelity. This infidelity was diffused among the people, and soon it began to bear its customary fruits in the declension in morals everywhere. This great spiritual depression extended itself all along the Atlantic coast, and it spread far into the interior. Kentucky, in the Cumberland region, was notoriously bad. So discouraging was the general condition that many persons, even as distinguished as Chief Justice Marshall, seriously considered the question of giving up religion.

B. THE GREAT REVIVALS (1796-1803)

But all experience goes to show that no form of infidelity can remain permanently in the ascendency. Whatever elements of truth it may contain will finally

be repelled and disengage themselves, and a reaction will come. Perhaps the prime mover in the new awakening was President Timothy Dwight of Yale College, whose *Theology Explained and Defended in a Series of Sermons* extended over four years. This arrangement made it necessary for those who took the college course to hear the entire series. The influence of these sermons was immediate and far-reaching. The results were speedy. The number of professing Christians was raised from twelve to ninety, many of whom became candidates for the ministry.

The spirit of the awakening manifested itself throughout New England and through the West and the South. The leaders of this revival had profited by the mistakes of the Great Awakening, and the movement proceeded on the whole with much less emotion. Yet there were communities in which individuals were strongly affected in different ways. They laughed, wept, fainted, went off in trances, and were "jerked."

But all these emotional disturbances and abnormalities were only incidental. The great revivals of these years restored Christianity to its normal position in the social system. The way was now cleared for the churches to grow and do their work. Sadly enough, they became oftentimes their own worst enemies through differences and disruptions.

C. THE DENOMINATIONS

Eleven religious denominations had established themselves in America before the outbreak of the war. They were: The Protestant Episcopalians, the Reformed Dutch, the Congregationalists, the Roman Catholics, the Friends, the Baptists, the Presby-

terians, the Methodists, the German Reformed, the Lutherans, and the Moravians.*

THE EPISCOPALIANS

Owing to the close connection and sympathy of the Episcopalians with the English government during the Revolution the organization was almost broken up. Many of their ministers were missionaries of the Propagation Society, and most of them returned to England, while others who remained were known to be at least kindly disposed towards parliament. After the war, owing to the conciliatory spirit manifested, especially by Bishop William White, who never swerved from his loyalty to the Americans, and Samuel Seabury, the church was reorganized, and started upon the line of progress which has been so marked in recent years. After much discussion, participated in by various leaders, the doctrinal symbols of the Protestant Episcopal Church were expressed in The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and a modification of the Thirty-nine Articles.

The government of the church is through a Triennial Convention, composed of the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, the latter consisting of equal numbers of clergymen and laymen. Each diocese elects four clergymen and four laymen—eight in all. Legislation requires the concurrence of both houses, and the decisions of the convention are ultimate.

There are four general canons of the convention, as follows:

"I. Of the orders in the ministry and of the doctrines and worship of the church.

* See **Bacon**, p. 208.

"II. Of discipline.

"III. Of the organized bodies and officers of the church.

"IV. Miscellaneous provisions."

Besides the Triennial Convention, there is a diocesan convention, presided over by the bishop of the diocese, and composed of clerical and lay representatives. This convention attends to all matters not provided for in the general canons. The diocese is divided into parishes, each of which has its rector, church wardens, vestrymen, and congregation. There are three orders in the ministry—bishops, priests, and deacons.

THE REFORMED CHURCHES

The two principal Reformed churches in America trace their origin—one to Holland and the other to Germany. They are consequently known as the Reformed Dutch and the Reformed German Church. They are closely related to the Presbyterians both in doctrine and polity. But there is a difference in ecclesiastical terms—as consistory for session, classis for presbytery, and general synod for general assembly. An agreement was made in 1899 upon a "plan of federal union," but by 1893 it had been found impracticable. The first theological seminary in America was established in 1784 by the Dutch Reformed Church at New Brunswick, New Jersey, and it has since been connected with Rutgers College, established in 1770.

The German Reformed Church was established in 1825, and was located at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1835. The Mercersburg theology, placing special emphasis on the Divine-human person of Christ, regular training of church members as opposed to the irregular revival methods, and reviving liturgical

worship, gained considerable influence. Dr. Philip Schaff began his great career at this school.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS

Congregationalism came to America in the Mayflower. It was solidly founded in New England, and was for a long time the dominant religious force. On account of its numerous affinities with Presbyterianism a plan of union was adopted in 1801, and, by the provisions of this plan, where Presbyterianism had made good beginnings Congregationalists united with Presbyterian churches. This was especially so in the West. But in 1852 the Congregationalists, seeing the limitations thus put upon their growth, abrogated the plan of union. Doctrinally, the Westminster Confession was agreeable to the Congregationalists. The Savoy Confession of Faith was later included, and in 1865 the "Burial Hill Declaration," based upon the Savoy and Westminster Confessions, was adopted as embodying "the fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree." At the National Triennial Council, at Oberlin, in 1871, the distinctions between Old School and New School, and between Arminianism and Calvinism were dropped. "In 1883 a commission appointed by a national council formulated a confession, consisting of twelve articles. It is of a general evangelical character."

The basis of Congregational polity is the independence of the local church. According to the Cambridge platform: "Although churches be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded with one another; and equal, and therefore have not dominion over one another, yet all churches ought to preserve communion one with another, because they are all united unto

Christ, not only as a mystical, but as a political, head, whence is derived a communion suitable thereunto." The minister is simply first among equals, and is subject to the same laws as other members. Differences between churches, as within churches, may be brought before councils representing other churches, but their decisions are not binding Latterly the Congregationalists have grown rapidly in the West. They have always stood for a high degree of culture and thought. Horace Bushnell was one of their greatest gifts to the pulpit and to theology. So important is he that he deserves special mention.

Jonathan Edwards, as we have seen, started the movement which resulted in the New England Theology. The general dissatisfaction with Calvinism and the steady encroachments of Arminianism had made necessary some "improvements." These "improvements," begun by Edwards, were carried much further, and with wide variations, by such men as Hopkins, Bellamy and N. W. Taylor. By the middle of the nineteenth century theological thought was divided between the Unitarians and the Orthodox. The division was so sharp that there seemed to be a place for some strong personality who should go between the contending factions — not an eclectic, but one strong enough and clear enough to mark out his own way and walk in it, and that, too, without creating a schism. Such a man was Horace Bushnell, 1802-1876. Bushnell was born with a large nature—little short of universal. This means the ability constantly to commune with physical nature; an orderly mind which could not rest with an unrelated fact; a mind so comprehensive that it could not confine itself within the ordinary philosophical and theological systems of

men; a mind sympathetic with and capable of appropriating all truth; a mind that went on its way and did its work without directly attacking views towards which it was radically opposed, and so not a mind that would arouse the most bitter kind of opposition.

With such inherited qualities Bushnell entered upon his student days. He came into contact with Arminianism and mysticism, and from both received much benefit. He soon found that things were not to his natural liking, and the divergencies for which he was to stand began to take form. He found that revivals were too emotional and spasmodic, and led to neglect of the Christian training of children — hence his epoch-making work, "Christian Nurture," 1846. The orthodox statements of the doctrine of the Trinity were to him inadequate, hence his "God in Christ," 1848. The doctrine of miracles was unsatisfactory and this dissatisfaction called out Bushnell's most thorough treatise, "Nature and the Supernatural," which brought immense relief to many of the younger clergy. Likewise the conception of the doctrine of the Atonement was very inadequate to Bushnell's mind, and this inadequacy led to "The Vicarious Sacrifice," which set forth the "moral view" of the Atonement and put the strongest possible emphasis on the Incarnation. Thus on four fundamental points in theology Bushnell struck out on a line of his own and with such power that his influence on New England theology has been permanent.

THE ROMANISTS

The dread of Romanism had been such as to deprive them of their rights, almost everywhere. But after the Revolution their disabilities were gradually removed, and through the ability and moral excellence of John

Carroll, the first Roman bishop in America, the church received a powerful impetus, which carried it far ahead in the progress which since then has been rapid and continuous. In polity, as we have seen, Romanism is a hierarchy, consisting of a pope, the college of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons. In doctrine its symbols are: The Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the decisions of councils from Nicæa, 325, to the Œcumenical Council at Rome in 1870. The Bible and the apocryphal books are the Word of God, but ecclesiastical tradition is in practice of equal authority. The pope is infallible in all matters of faith and morals. Justification is by faith *and* works.

THE FRIENDS

We have already noticed the origin and peculiarities of The Friends, and their belief in the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit as their essential mark. Considering the size of their communion, their influence for education and general morality has been wide. Haverford College, in Pennsylvania, and Earlham College, in Indiana, are their most noted schools. There are four bodies of The Friends, the two leading ones being The Orthodox, and Hicksites named after Elias Hicks, who was charged with being in sympathy with Unitarianism. This led to a separation in 1827 and 1828.

THE BAPTISTS

The Baptists are divided into several branches, thirteen in all. The regular Baptists, north and south, include the majority of those bearing the name. They rest upon the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, and claim not to be governed by any creed.

Yet many churches have articles of faith, and the entire body has been considerably influenced by the Philadelphia Confession, which was a modification of the Westminster Confession, and which was first adopted in London in 1689, and later by the Philadelphia Baptist Association in 1742; and the New Hampshire Confession, which the New Hampshire State Convention adopted in 1833. This latter confession grew out of the controversy with the Free-will Baptists, who were Arminian. In polity the Baptists hold to the absolute authority of the local church. Doctrinally they are Calvinistic. Their requisites for membership are: Regeneration, voluntary union with the church, and baptism by immersion. The Baptists did not start out with an educational requirement for the ministry, and so they had to rely to a considerable extent upon natural ability and force of character. But in recent years a radical change is taking place, and they are putting great emphasis in the founding of academies, colleges, universities and theological seminaries. As a result they are coming well up towards the front.

THE PRESBYTERIANS

There are twelve branches of the Presbyterian Church in America. Their common bond of union is a system of church government by presbyters. They hold that bishops and presbyters in the New Testament are identical. There are four courts:

1st. The session or court of the congregation.

2d. The presbytery, which is a conference of all the ministers in the territory, and one ruling elder, who is a layman, from each church.

3d. The synod, which is made up of lay and minis-

terial delegates, elected by the presbyters belonging to the synod.

4th. The general assembly, which is the supreme court. It is both legislative and judicial, and meets annually.

The Presbyterians recognize but one ministerial order —the presbyter.

Doctrinally they are Calvinistic, having for a basis the Westminster Confession. This confession is now undergoing revision.

They have always stood for a high standard of education for the ministry. This led them early to the establishment of colleges and theological seminaries, which they have generously sustained. The result has been to put them as a denomination on a very high plane of culture and aggressiveness in all lines of Christian activity.

THE METHODISTS

We have noticed the rise of Methodism, and its introduction into America. But the separation from the Church of England had not yet taken place. This practically occurred when, at the close of the Revolution, the Bishop of London refused to ordain ministers for the Methodist societies in America. Wesley thus felt constrained in 1784 to ordain men, and give them authority to ordain others. Thomas Coke was ordained as bishop and superintendent of Methodism in America, and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasy were ordained as elders. Through these appointments the new church was organized and started on its marvelous career. There are six distinguishing marks of Methodism, as follows: The probationary system; the class meeting; exhorters; local preachers; presiding

elders; and bishops who are not diocesan but general, and itinerant officers. There is also a system of conferences, as follows: The quarterly conference, "held four times a year in each church"; the annual conference, and the general conference, held every four years. This last is absolute, and is both legislative and judicial.

Doctrinally, the great body of Methodism is Arminian, emphasizing the freedom of the will and universal atonement. Their doctrinal symbol is the Twenty-five Articles of Religion adapted by John Wesley from the Thirty-Nine Articles. The branches of Methodism number seventeen, but the principal one is the Methodist Episcopal. The Methodists, in a remarkable degree, have reached the masses, and they have also been foremost in the advancement of education. Their latest achievement is the raising of the $20,000,000 fund, a crowning evidence of their intelligent zeal.

THE LUTHERANS

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Lutherans from different parts of Europe settled in various localities in America. As we have seen, through the leadership of Mühlenberg their scattered forces were drawn together and unified. Various causes hindered their progress. Chief among these was the determination of many to retain the German language. But recently their growth has been rapid, and it is to a considerable extent, but not exclusively, owing to immigration. The fundamental doctrinal symbol of the Lutheran Church is the Augsburg Confession. But there are other symbols, as: Luther's Catechisms, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord.

Their great doctrine, as set forth by Luther, is: Justification by faith alone. Although both Luther and Calvin started on an Augustinian basis, Lutheranism has turned rather towards Arminianism than towards Calvinism. The ordinances—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—are really channels of grace. "In the Holy Supper there are present with the elements, and are received sacramentally and supernaturally, the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ." This is a sacramental union, and not consubstantiation — a term which they reject. The Lutherans seem inclined more and more to liturgical forms of worship. In polity they combine elements of the Congregational and Presbyterian forms. There are sixteen variations among the Lutherans.

THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST

The United Brethren Church was founded by Philip William Otterbein and Martin Boehm. The former was a missionary of the German Reformed Church, and the latter a Mennonite pastor. Otterbein had a vivid spiritual experience which seemed to him to be a new birth. When, a little later, he heard a sermon from Boehm he was so moved that he grasped Boehm's hand and said, "We are brethren." This is the origin of the name. Their preaching was accompanied by revivals in Pennsylvania and Maryland. They were joined by others, and in 1800 an organization was effected at Baltimore. The new organization invited all who had experienced a change of heart, and attracted many Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, and Moravians. Doctrinally, the United Brethren in Christ are Arminian, and they are governed by quarterly, annual and general conferences. The general

conference meets every four years. It is thus seen that both in polity and doctrine they resemble the Methodists. They have been active in building up institutions of learning and in the diffusion of religious knowledge. Their chief printing establishment is at Dayton, Ohio.

There are many other smaller denominations of Christians in America, each of which, within its limitations, has made its contributions to the general progress of Christianity.*

All these denominations had much of the true spirit of Christianity, and nearly all of them were very aggressive in pushing forward their peculiar phases of belief. In their relations to each other the emphasis was usually placed upon the marks that distinguished the denominations rather than upon those which they had in common. Thus denominational peculiarities were brought to a high degree of perfection, resulting often in detriment to the general cause. Yet, upon the whole, this is not to be regarded as an unmixed evil. For elements of truth were preserved and put in their proper relations, which might have been lost; and while it kept the denominations apart, it saved religion from the stagnation and internal decay that would have resulted from a unity that must have been forced and premature under the circumstances.

Forms of Denominational Activity

The general spirit of beneficence that is one of the essential marks of Christianity showed itself forth in great organizations.

* For the best general account of the religious organizations in America, with statistics, see **Carroll:** *The Religious Forces of the United States.*

First, missionary boards to extend a knowledge of the Gospel. Of these the most widely known in the West is the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, organized in 1810, by the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts. Four years later the American Baptist Missionary Society was organized, and in 1846 the organization of the American Baptist Missionary Union took place.

Second, the establishment of theological seminaries and the development of colleges.

Third, attacks upon great national sins, like slavery and intemperance.

Disruptions

The spirit of independence which we saw arise in the rival theory to Romanism in the Middle Ages; which asserted itself in the differences among the Reformers on the Continent; which differentiated still more into the non-conforming churches in England—was more than ever aggressive in the individualism of America. This individualism expressed itself within the denominations, and as a result we have disruptions in all the great denominations, and even disruptions within the disrupted and most liberal. The single exception was the Romanists, who by tact and diplomacy have so far managed to avoid any open rupture. Among these we may mention:

a. The Presbyterians

At the beginning the Presbyterians coöperated with the Congregationalists. But there were soon two theological types, each very strong, within the church. The first was the strict Scotch-Irish element. The second was the more liberal Calvinism which had grown up in the New England theology. The stricter

type accused the more liberal of heresy, and such a noble and sweet-spirited man as Albert Barnes was tried for his heterodoxy. The result was a division in 1833 into the Old School and the New School—represented respectively by Princeton and Union Theological Seminaries.

Another division of the Presbyterians was the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It took place in 1810. It came about in this way: The Presbyterian Church had always stood for an educated ministry, for predestination and a limited atonement. When the great revivals occurred in Kentucky in 1797 the supply of ministers was not sufficient. Ministers were accordingly ordained whose education the Cumberland Presbytery thought to be inadequate. The result was a division which was less strict in the matter of an educated ministry, and which was Arminian in theology, but in other respects was true to the Westminster symbols.

b. The Lutherans

Many members of the Lutheran Church thought that it had drifted too far away from the Augsburg Confession. This feeling grew until a reaction occurred in 1864, leading to the "General Council," which first met in 1867. Its members were strict adherents to the Confession.

But even the members of the Council were still regarded as too loose and, accordingly, in 1872, the Lutheran Synodical Conference was formed, whose members were the strictest adherents to the Confession.

c. The Methodists

Methodism arose to power during the Revolution, and was finally organized in 1784. Its doctrinal

standard was a modification of the Thirty-Nine Articles. In the course of time the question of lay representation arose, and as a result of differences, in 1828, the Methodist Protestant Church formed a new branch.

d. The Congregationalists

On account of their more democratic form of polity the Congregationalists and the Baptists were less subject to schism. Yet they did not escape. The Unitarians had had recognition in the Congregational churches for a long time. But the differences were greatly accentuated when Henry Ware, who was a Unitarian, was made Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1805—a chair which had been founded by an English Baptist. The Trinitarians refused to fellowship the Unitarians, and the result was a new organization. The Unitarians have been foremost in literature. William Ellery Channing was their greatest preacher.

But liberalism did not stop with the Unitarians. An intuitional school embodying the principles of the German idealism came to the front. It took the name of transcendentalism, because it claimed that ideas which are the essentials in religion transcend facts. The most brilliant representative of this school was Ralph Waldo Emerson. Thus we have a disruption breaking out from a disruption.

e. The Baptists

The one important division among the Baptists took place in 1827. Alexander Campbell—an Irishman educated at Glasgow—was originally a Presbyterian. But, changing his views on baptism, he became a Baptist. He found himself, however, at variance

with the Baptists on the doctrines of regeneration and the Holy Spirit. He made baptism the completing act in regeneration, and the Scriptures the exclusive channel through which the Holy Spirit works. He rejected all creeds. His followers were first called Campbellites—but the name which they choose is Disciples. They have had a remarkable growth. In polity they are Congregational.

f. The Episcopalians

In 1873 a party among the Episcopalians protested against: The historic episcopate; the distinction of rank between bishops and presbyters; the real presence of the Eucharist; and baptismal regeneration. This party was led by George D. Cummins, assistant bishop of Kentucky. These differences were so radical that the only course left was secession, and the result was a new branch of the church, which is known as the Reformed Episcopal Church.

Thus we are able to see some of the outworkings of the freedom of religious opinion. These divisions among Protestants are a constant source of supply to the Romanists in their attacks upon Protestantism. But the results of the two systems, as worked out in history, leave no choice as to which shall be preferred.

g. The Universalists

This church was founded by James Kelly, in England, about 1750. Kelly and Murray, his co-laborer, were both Calvinistic Methodists. From the doctrine of "the solidarity of Christ with mankind," Kelly worked out the further doctrine of universal salvation. The first Universalist church was organized by Murray at Gloucester, Mass., in 1779. The polity of Universal-

ism is Congregational, with an advisory bishop; its creed, adopted in 1803, is Trinitarian, but an advanced wing of its ministers is Unitarian. Its essential principles of faith to-day are:

1st. The universal Fatherhood of God.

2d. The spiritual authority and leadership of his Son Jesus Christ.

3d. The trustworthiness of the Bible as containing a revelation from God.

4th. The certainty of a just retribution for sin.

5th. The final harmony of all souls with God.

Beyond these five principles there is no doctrinal test.

The Universalists have colleges and theological schools, and are somewhat active in missions.

Conclusion

In the course of our long and rapid journey we have witnessed the planting and training of the church. We have seen its vicissitudes—its mistakes, its humiliations, its triumphs. The story is one of the disentanglement and of the liberation of truth from error. There are periods of terrible darkness and of hopelessness, but in every case the light has come and shone at last more clearly than ever before.

The history of the church, when profoundly and sympathetically studied, has no place for the pessimist. After two thousand years of experience, which constantly approaches but never becomes repetition, the student ought to forecast the ever-brightening and happier future with the certainty and almost the precision of science.

The agitations which trouble so many good people to-day are allayed the moment they take a long and

large view of history. There has always been "unrest in the theological world," and there will be until the millennium. The traveler who makes his first voyage on an ocean-liner is disturbed by the rolling and pitching of the iron monster. He fears she will turn over. But soon he learns that this is the way she gets on through the billows. The storms of history have severely tried the Ark of God, tossing it to and fro, but it has weathered them all. The sailing of the future will be over calmer seas and under more genial skies.

True, at the opening of the twentieth century we find no organic unity among the great religious denominations. But when we note the marvelous achievements of Christian civilization, taken as a whole, and see how each denomination has emphasized and conserved some essential elements of truth; as we witness the beautiful spirit of Christian love that now reigns almost supremely; as we behold the glowing and growing enthusiasm of all Christians to know just what the Word of God means—these divisions are not to be deplored.

We must never forget that, as sin has everywhere been present in history to mar and to blast all efforts of good men, so our fathers had their natural limitations. Thus they were often narrow and unjust when they did not intend to be so. Their narrowness and injustice laid them open to the attacks of the common adversary, and we are horrified at the deeds that darken the pages of Christian history. But those days are past, never to return. We respect each other's conscientious convictions, and unless we can change those convictions by arguments applied in love, we are content to let them stand as they are, remember-

ing that we have a large common and immovable Foundation on which we can stand, and, touching shoulder to shoulder, drive back the forces of darkness and despair.

We have learned that it is not God's plan to bring things to pass suddenly. He holds all the forces of history in His omnipotent hands, setting limits to them in their interaction until, at last, guided by His infinite wisdom, they accomplish His eternal purposes.

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